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# C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

BELLUM

# Catilinarium *et* Jugurthinum,

Cum VERSIONE LIBERA.

PRÆMITTITUR

DISSERTATIO, in qua quam egregie conferant ad Linguam Latinam facilius promptiuſque percipiendam Auctorum Claſſicorum Verſiones Anglicæ, tam ad Verbum quam liberius factæ, pluribus demonſtratur.

NECNON ET

VITA *SALLUSTII*,

Auctore Viro Cl. JOANNE CLERICO.

*I. E.*

The HISTORY of the WARS of

# *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*,

By *SALLUST*,

With a FREE TRANSLATION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A large DISSERTATION upon the Uſefulneſs of TRANSLATIONS of Claſſick Authors, both Literal and Free, for the more eaſy, expeditious Attainment of the Latin Tongue.

AS ALSO

The LIFE of *SALLUST*,

By the famous Monſieur LE CLERC.

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By JOHN CLARKE,
Late Maſter of the Publick Grammar-School in HULL.

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The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
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# THE
# PREFACE.

*THE Character of* Sallust *as an Hiſtorian is ſo well known, and ſo juſtly eſtabliſhed in the Learned World, that I judge it needleſs to enlarge upon the Subject; and I decline it the rather, becauſe I am ſenſible Encomiums of that Kind from a Tranſlator or Commentator are generally, and but too juſtly, ſuſpected by the moſt ſenſible Readers to proceed only from a Deſign to ſet off, or recommend more effectually, his own Performance: Though how little I am diſpoſed to that ſelfiſh Piece of Pedantry the Preface to my* Florus *may convince the Reader; and, to give him yet further Proof of it, I ſhall here take notice of the only material Fault I know of in* Sallust.

*ONE of the Qualifications indiſpenſably required in an Hiſtorian is Impartiality. I grant our Author has given a remarkable Inſtance of this in undertaking to write the Hiſtory of* Catiline's *Conſpiracy, wherein he could not avoid ſpeaking much of his Enemy* Cicero *in a Manner that could not but be for his Honour, which he has not only done decently, but with Commendation of his Vigilance and Concern for the Publick, under the Titles of* Clariſſimus Conſul, *and* Optimus Conſul. *The former, indeed, he puts into the mouth of* Ju-

 lius

lius Cæſar; *but he might, notwithſtanding, have eaſily avoided that elevated epithet, ſince he has only given us the Senſe, and not the Words, of* Cæſar, *whoſe Stile is very different from that of his Speech in* Salluſt. *This, I ſay, is a commendable Inſtance of his Impartiality, if he was not at the writing reconciled to* Cicero, *as ſome have imagined. But then, I think, he has failed as much in his Parallel between* Cato *and* Cæſar. *It is an Outrage upon common Senſe to run a Parallel betwixt two Men of ſuch oppoſite Characters ſo as to leave it at laſt a diſputable Point which was the greater and better of the two; inſomuch that any one who was to know nothing of* Cæſar *but by our Author's Account of him would certainly take him for a very worthy, glorious Man, whereas his true Character is the reverſe. He was indeed a Perſon of vaſt Abilities; but then he had nothing in him that bore any Reſemblance of a Virtue but what was directly intended to promote the worſt and moſt wicked deſign that can enter into the Heart of Man to conceive, the Deſtruction of the Liberties of his Country. The Generoſity, Eaſineſs, and Clemency, our Author celebrates him for, were in him Arts or Tricks, practiſed purely with a View to acquire, and ſecure to himſelf, the Poſſeſſion of an arbitrary Power over his Fellow-Citizens; otherwiſe, he had ſo little of thoſe good Qualities ſeparated from ſuch a View, that this generous, eaſy Gentleman would have made no Scruple to have ſwept the Globe of the Earth of one Half of its Inhabitants by Fire and Sword, or any other Methods of Deſtruction, in order to rule the Remainder at Pleaſure. And, to uſe the Words of* Cato *in his Speech to the Senate, upon Occaſion of* Catiline's *Conſpiracy*, Shall any one talk to me in this caſe of Mildneſs and Mercy? *Shall that Man be accounted or ſtiled mild and merciful whoſe inſatiable Thirſt after Power made him wade through Seas of Blood to come*

*at*

*at it. He was not a whit better Man than* Catiline, *but had a great deal more Cunning, and much greater Abilities, whereby he at length executed with Succeſs what the other attempted only to his own Deſtruction. He was ſhrewdly ſuſpected to be privy to* Catiline's *Deſign, and engaged in it; and the great Concern he ſhewed to ſave the reſt of the Conſpirators, makes it not unlikely. However, his having been concerned in a Plot of the like nature before, and indeed his whole Conduct from his early Youth to his Death, plainly demonſtrate that his Concern for them proceeded not from any Tenderneſs of Nature, or Regard to the Laws of his Country, as he pretended in his Speech to the Senate, but from a Deſign to uſe them for the like Purpoſe whenſoever a favourable Opportunity might preſent. It was abſurd, as* Cato *juſtly obſerved in his Anſwer to him, at ſuch a Juncture, when the City was in immediate Danger of being involved in Blood and Fire, and the whole Commonwealth ready to be ſwallowed up in one common Ruin, to ſtand dallying and dodging, as if all was ſafe and ſecure, and proceed according to the Preſcription of Laws, which never were, nor ever could be, deſigned for Caſes of ſuch a Nature as that was. When Villainy is carried to ſo dangerous a Height, by Power and Numbers together, as not to admit of the Obſervation of Laws deſigned only for common and ordinary Caſes, without the Hazard of a general Ruin, or utter Diſſolution of the Government, the Rulers of a Commonwealth in ſuch a Caſe, are diſcharged from all ſuch Laws, and left to act by that of Nature or Reaſon, which allows of all the Methods of Violence and Force that appear neceſſary for the Preſervation of the State from the Deſtruction that threatens it.* Cæſar, *in ſhort, ſpoke upon that Occaſion like an artful, ill-deſigning Man;* Cato, *like what he was, a brave and a worthy Patriot: And to compare two ſuch Men together, whoſe*

*Characters*

*Characters were as oppoſite to one another as black and white, in the Manner our Author has done, was vile Daubing, ſetting a Gloſs upon the moſt extreme Wickedneſs, to give it the Air and Luſtre of Virtue and commendable Accompliſhments.*

*BUT this, indeed, is the only Flaw in our Author of any Importance, or worth while to trouble the Reader about, that I know of. As to the Matter of his Hiſtory, it is remarkable and engaging enough.* Catiline's *Conſpiracy was ſuch a villainous, deſperate Deſign, as is ſcarce to be parallelled in the Hiſtory of Mankind, unleſs by the murtherous Projects contrived by the Roman Catholics in Favour of their Religion, as they call it, eſpecially that famous Plot here in England againſt King* James *the Firſt and his Parliament.*

*THE War againſt King* Jugurtha *too, for the Time of its Continuance, is as full of important and remarkable Incidents as any other in the whole Roman Hiſtory beſides. We ſee there to what a Height Bribery and Corruption were at that Time got in Rome; to ſuch a Height indeed, that the* Romans *wanted but one Thing to complete their Shame and Ruin at once, that is, to have had the Bill which was preferred to the People againſt the Penſioners to the King rejected. And this was what many of the Senate (in all likelihood a very great Majority) endeavoured by clandeſtine Means and ſly Practices to bring about; but the People, corrupt as they were, yet were not wicked and ſhameleſs enough to come into ſo vile a Project, which, had it ſucceeded, muſt in all Probability have made* Jugurtha *Maſter of* Rome. *To conclude, we may learn, from this and the ſubſequent Part of the* Roman *Story 'till* Julius Cæſar *executed his long-projected Deſign upon his Country, this Leſſon, that* where Bribery and Corruption prevail amongſt the Governors

vernors of a free State, unleſs ſome powerful Remedy can be ſpeedily applied, there the Deſtruction of Liberty muſt unavoidably and preſently enſue.

*AS for the two Orations, as they are called, of* Salluſt *to* Cæſar, *about ſettling the Government, I have not thought fit to tranſlate them, as well becauſe of the vile Flattery they are daſhed with, as alſo becauſe, having been leſs read and regarded than the Hiſtory, they have not been conveyed down to us ſo correct, inſomuch that the Senſe ſeems to be quite loſt in ſome Places by the extreme Corruption of the Text, and in others the preſent Reading is at beſt diſputable.*

*AS* Tranſlations *of the* Claſſick Authors, *both Literal and Free, are exceedingly uſeful in learning the* Latin *Tongue, I have thought fit to ſubjoin to this Preface my Diſſertation upon that Subject, but conſiderably enlarged. I am afraid, indeed, the moſt judicious of my Readers may think I have given myſelf a needleſs Trouble in dwelling ſo long upon ſo plain a Subject; but I muſt beſeech ſuch to conſider the great Importance of it, and withall the ſtrong Prejudice many, even School-Maſters, are poſſeſſed with againſt the Uſe of Tranſlations, and perhaps they may find Reaſon to be of a different Opinion. A Perſon that was a Stranger to the Abſurdities of the Church of* Rome *would certainly think it a very needleſs Thing for any one to go about to prove in a long Diſcourſe that a Bit of Bread cannot be a human Body; and yet to that Neceſſity have the Reformed been driven, inſomuch that many Men of the greateſt Learning and Abilities among them have writ largely to expoſe the Madneſs of that Aſſertion of the* Romaniſts, *and were never blamed for it: And therefore, tho' the Abſurdity I write againſt be indeed almoſt as groſs as it is to maintain Bread to be Fleſh, or a Penny Loaf to be*

*be a Man, yet ſince a great many think quite the contrary, or at leaſt pretend ſo, and upon that pretence reject the Uſe of Tranſlations, and plead againſt them, I hope the Reader who conſiders this will not think what I have urged againſt the common Method of proceeding in our Grammar-Schools in Favour of Tranſlations at all too much or more than needed. For where Prejudice hinders People from ſeeing what is right, in Matters of great Concern to the Publick, and ſo diſpoſes them to decline and decry the Practice of it, there it will not only be excuſable, but highly uſeful and neceſſary, to multiply Words, in order to ſet the Truth of the Caſe in as ſtrong and glaring a Light as poſſible, 'till Prejudice vaniſhes before it. Now, that the Oppoſition made by many to the Uſe of Tranſlations is very abſurd, and can therefore be founded upon nothing but Prejudice, or ſomething worſe, I have, I preſume, in the Diſſertation ſo abundantly demonſtrated, that, if it has no good Effect upon the Advocates for the common Method, it may at leaſt prevent indifferent and unprejudiced Perſons from being miſled by them, and ſo operate in time to a thorough Reformation of ſo palpable a Fault.*

*THE Method of Education commonly followed in our Schools has long been the Subject of a general Complaint among the Learned. I very early became ſenſible of the Juſtneſs of that Complaint, and thought I ſaw clearly how it was faulty and deficient in ſeveral Reſpects; and, as no Attempts were made by any one to reform it, I thereupon took up a Reſolution to try what I could do towards it myſelf, which Reſolution iſſued in the Publication of an* Eſſay upon the Subject of Education, *and ſeveral other Books, to ſupport and render practicable the Method laid down in the* Eſſay. *But, not finding myſelf at Liberty enough to purſue*

purſue the Deſign ſo cloſely as I wiſhed, by reaſon of the cumberſome Employment I had upon my hands; and being upon another Account quite weary of the Buſineſs, I quitted it, in order to employ my Studies and Pen more effectually in carrying on a Deſign I had ſo much at Heart, with this Aſſurance, that, if my Sentiments upon Education were right, I could not be employed in any way more uſeful to the Publick. And that my Sentiments were juſt, or at leaſt that I was not greatly out, or widely miſtaken, in the Method I propoſed, I thought I had ſome Reaſon to hope, from the great Approbation it met with from the moſt able Judges up and down the Kingdom; of which I had good Aſſurance by Letters from ſeveral of them, as well as other Information. If, therefore, it ſhould pleaſe God to continue to me that fine State of Health I have hitherto enjoyed, and Gentlemen will be pleaſed to encourage me in my Project, I ſhall ſpare no Pains to furniſh our Schools with what further Helps are wanted in them. And I hope ſuch Gentlemen as have done, or ſhall do me the Honour to declare in my Favour, will further honour me, by ſupporting my Endeavours for the Service of the Publick with the Favour of their Recommendation, in order to baniſh out of our Schools that Abſurdity in Practice which has hitherto generally prevailed therein. If they pleaſe but to intereſt themſelves in the Buſineſs, all Obſtructions to the Work ariſing from Ignorance or Prejudice, or what Motives ſoever, will quickly vaniſh; and we may ſoon ſee ſuch a Revolution in our Schools as will tend greatly to the Advancement of Learning and Virtue among us.

A

# DISSERTATION

Upon the USEFULNESS of

## TRANSLATIONS *of* Claſſick Authors,

Both LITERAL and FREE,

For the Eaſy Expeditious Attainment of the

## LATIN TONGUE:

BEING

An EXTRACT from the ESSAY UPON EDUCATION, and other Books, publiſhed by Mr. CLARKE, late School-maſter of *Hull*, but very much enlarged with further Thoughts upon the Subject.

Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the Learned, in order to a Reformation of the vulgar Method of Proceeding in Grammar Schools, as to that important Article of Education, the Teaching of the LATIN TONGUE.

WHOEVER duly conſiders the vulgar Management of Youth in our Grammar Schools will ſee Cauſe to wonder, that, amidſt the noble Endeavours for the Advancement of Learning, a right Method of Education has been in a manner wholly overlooked. Whilſt the Great Men in the Commonwealth of Letters have been buſily and ſucceſsfully employed in improving and carrying on the ſeveral Arts and Sciences, they

have neglected what was equally neceſſary, the Care of Youth: For had but this been as duly attended to as the Importance of the Matter required, their Labours would have been of vaſtly more Uſe to the World. Grammars, and Notes upon Authors, we have indeed in Abundance, and more by far than are good for any Thing; yet theſe, where they are uſeful, are only ſo to ſuch as have made a conſiderable Progreſs in the *Latin* Tongue. But Beginners have been left wholly without any proper Helps, 'till of late ſome few have been provided for them by one engaged in the laborious and troubleſome Employment of teaching School, who conſequently had both leſs Time and leſs Eaſe of Mind for that Work than many others better qualified to promote a rational Method of Education amongſt us, had they been pleaſed to turn their Thoughts upon the Subject, and puſh the Matter, by ſupplying our Schools with proper Books for the Purpoſe. But the Learned, it ſeems, have thought Things of this Kind below their Notice. There was more Credit and Fame to be got by writing for Men than Children; and therefore the latter have been ſtrangely neglected.

As the Courſe of Life I was ſeveral Years engaged in obliged me to turn my Thoughts that Way, I have long ſince publiſhed my Sentiments upon the Subject, in a Treatiſe under the Title of *An Eſſay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools.* What I have there ſaid, and elſewhere, upon the Uſefulneſs of Tranſlations for the eaſy and expeditious Attainment of the *Latin* Tongue, I have thought proper, in this Preface, to draw together under one View, in order to turn more effectually the Attention of the Publick upon a Matter of ſuch great and general Concern.

Translations are of two Kinds, or there are two Ways of tranſlating Authors for the Uſe of Schools; the one *Literal* or *Verbal*, in which the *Latin* is rendered into *Engliſh* Word for Word, or the Senſe and Meaning of every Word in the Original is given in the Tranſlation; the other *Free* and *Proper*, wherein Regard is only had to the Senſe, which the Tranſlator endeavours to expreſs in the moſt juſt and handſome Manner, without pretending to give the preciſe Meaning of every individual Word, as in the Literal or Verbal Way. Now both theſe Sorts of Tranſlations are ſo highly and apparently uſeful for the ready Attainment of the *Latin* Tongue, that it is really amazing the World ſhould not long ſince have been ſenſible of it: And it is yet more amazing, that after ſo much has been ſaid upon the Subject,

and

and Tranſlations too of ſeveral Authors provided for the Uſe of Schools, to which no Exception has been taken as ill done, that ever I could hear; yet a great many of our Maſters ſhould ſhew ſo ſtrong an Averſion to what is ſo manifeſtly calculated for their Eaſe, as well as for the greater Improvement of Youth under their Care. In order to open the Eyes of ſuch, if poſſible, in a Matter, in which both their Intereſt and Credit is ſo highly concerned, I have thought fit to preſent them with this Diſſertation. I ſhall, therefore, ſpeak diſtinctly to the Uſefulneſs of TRANSLATIONS, both *Literal* and *Free*. And firſt of the *Literal*.

WHEN Boys ſet forward in the reading of *Latin* Authors, there are but three ſeveral Ways for them to proceed in: 1, By the Help of a Maſter to conſtrue their Leſſons to them: 2, By the Help of a Dictionary: Or, 3, By that of Literal Tranſlations.

I. As to the firſt, our Schools are very few of them provided with any more than two Maſters; in which Caſe it is impoſſible for a Man that has three or four Claſſes to take Care of, to give that Attendance to them all, in the Way of conſtruing their Leſſons to them, as to keep them employed a third Part of the Time they have to ſpend in the School. For it is not ſufficient for a Maſter to conſtrue to Boys a Leſſon once over from Beginning to End in a Hurry, (as is uſual, I believe) and ſo clear his Hands of them, in Expectation that ſhould ſerve the Turn, by keeping them properly employed, and he be no more troubled with them for his Aſſiſtance upon that Leſſon. Alas! this will ſignify juſt nothing at all. If he would aſſiſt them to any Purpoſe, he muſt go over each Period of a Leſſon diſtinctly and ſlowly by itſelf, more than once; and then try the Boys in it one after another, helping them out, where he finds them faulter, or at a ſtand; and not advancing further, 'till the ſloweſt of them are pretty perfect in what they are upon. But then, whilſt he is thus engaged with one Claſs, the reſt, for want of Help, will have little or nothing to do, but gape and ſtare about them, if they be not worſe employ'd. Beſides, this is ſuch a Piece of Drudgery, as few Maſters, I believe, will care to undergo. For where the Uſe of Tranſlations is rejected, and the Maſter's Lungs are to ſupply the Want of them, he, in regard to his own Eaſe, and to ſave his Breath, is apt to make very ſhort Work of it, by ſetting the Boys very ſhort Leſſons, not a third, or not a fourth Part of what they

 might

might eaſily get, and to greater Perfection, by the Help of a Literal Tranſlation, without giving him any Trouble at all. Two Thirds, then, of their Time, at leaſt, muſt be ſpent in Sauntering, or Trifling; and therefore this Way of Proceeding will not anſwer the Deſign propoſed, or produce the deſired Effect, the ſpeedy Progreſs of Youth in their Buſineſs.

I MAY add too, that, perhaps, not very many Maſters are qualified to furniſh their Scholars, in conſtruing their Leſſons to them, with Words ſo fit and proper for their Purpoſe, as Literal Tranſlations will, done by a Perſon qualified with a competent Skill in the Language for the Work. If any one wants to be convinced of this, let him make a Trial upon ſome of the Claſſick Authors already publiſhed with Literal Tranſlations, *Juſtin* or *Florus* for Inſtance, by tranſlating three or four Chapters together, and comparing what he does with what is already done, and I doubt not, but he will receive ample Satisfaction of the Truth of what I have ſaid. For though he may find his Performance to have the Advantage upon the Compariſon, yet he will certainly find it coſt him ſome Thought and Trouble here and there, to work it up to that Perfection. For the *Latin* Idiom differs ſo widely from the *Engliſh*, that it is no ſuch eaſy Buſineſs, as ſome may perhaps imagine, to tranſlate the Claſſicks Literally, and at the ſame Time with tolerable Juſtneſs and Propriety of Language, ſo as the *Engliſh* may bear a Reading, without appearing abſolutely barbarous and ridiculous. It was this Difficulty of the Work, I gueſs, which deterred thoſe whoſe proper Buſineſs it was, from attempting it, and ſo has been the principal, if not the ſole Occaſion, that our Schools have not been long ſince provided with that admirable and obvious Help of Literal Tranſlations, ſo obviouſly ſuch, that many could not but be ſenſible of it, who yet being deterred by the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Fear of Cenſure, would not engage in the Taſk of ſupplying our Schools with any thing in that Way. Now if this be the Caſe, if it be no ſuch eaſy Matter to tranſlate the Claſſick Authors Literally, with any tolerable Juſtneſs or Propriety of Language, muſt it not be a vaſt Advantage to many School-Maſters, to be delivered from the Vexation of hunting for proper Words, and oftentimes to no Purpoſe, by being provided with good Tranſlations, juſt and exact in their Kind? In ſhort, I ſhall be bold to ſay, that not only Boys, but Maſters themſelves may,

many

many of them, receive great Improvement in their Buſineſs, from Literal Tranſlations of Claſſick Authors.

II. As to the Uſe of a Dictionary. That Way is yet more improper than the former. Young Boys are but very aukward at finding Words in a Dictionary, which Work will conſequently make a ſad Conſumption of their Time, a ſingle Word requiring as much as will ſuffice them for the getting two or three Lines perfectly to conſtrue by the Help of a Literal Tranſlation. And then what a tedious while muſt they be in getting ſo many Lines to conſtrue by the Uſe of a Dictionary, where they may have Occaſion, as muſt often happen, to look out half a Dozen Words or more for that Purpoſe? Does not the Abſurdity of ſuch a Method of Proceeding ſtare the Reader in the Face? And how can Gentlemen be eaſy in having their Sons carried on in a Way ſo manifeſtly trifling? Which will appear yet more ſo, when it is conſidered, that young Boys can indeed make but little Uſe of a Dictionary, for want of Senſe to diſtinguiſh, amongſt the various Significations many Words have, ſuch as are proper for their Purpoſe; not to ſay too, that the beſt Dictionaries will in this Caſe frequently fail them. But ſuppoſe all this was otherwiſe, yet by what Kind of Conjuration muſt young Lads, betwixt Ten and Fourteen, unravel that perplexed Order of Words in the *Latin* Tongue? This they can never do, give them what Inſtructions you will for it, 'till they come to have a pretty general Knowledge of Words; ſo as that, upon reading a Sentence once or twice ſlowly and attentively over, they either diſcover the Senſe, or come pretty near it. That alone, and not any Directions you can give Boys ſo young, will enable them to unravel the intricate Order Words uſually have in the *Latin* Tongue. Now Literal Tranſlations direct them immediately to the Order in which Words are to be taken, and at the ſame Time immediately ſupply them with the Meaning of ſuch Words as they want to know the Meaning of. All that has been ſaid upon this Head appears to me ſo very evident and inconteſtable, that, for my Part, I ſee not how it can be diſputed by any one.

III. There is, then, no other proper Help left for young Lads in the Reading of Authors, for the firſt three or four Years at leaſt of their being at School, but that of *Literal Tranſlations*. If Boys, who cannot conjure to come at the Meaning of Words, muſt be helped to the Meaning of them ſome Way or other, is not the moſt eaſy and expeditious Way

the beſt? And ſuppoſing a Maſter could aſſiſt them to keep them conſtantly employed, (which every one muſt ſee to be utterly impoſſible) or ſuppoſing they might make a hard Shift to do their Buſineſs in a poor blundering Manner by a Dictionary, (which is the utmoſt any one of the leaſt Knowledge in theſe Matters can ſuppoſe) yet what Occaſion can there be for either, when it is to the laſt Degree viſible, their Buſineſs may be more eaſily and effectually done by the Help of Literal Tranſlations? Is it not vaſtly more eligible for a Boy, when he is at a Stand for want of the proper Order or Meaning of Words, to be ſet a going immediately by one ſingle Caſt of his Eye, than to be obliged to ſpend Time in tumbling and toſſing the Leaves of a Dictionary backward and forward, or trotting perpetually up and down the School to the Maſter, or his Schoolfellows for their Help? Is it not as abſurd to deny this, as it would be to affirm that the beſt Way for a Workman to go on eaſily and expeditiouſly with a Piece of Work is not to have his Tools and Implements in the Shop or Workhouſe about him, all ready at hand, but to have them all to ſeek, ſome in the Kitchen, others in the Garret, others in the Yard, or the furtheſt Part of the Town; to be all carefully hid again every Night, that he may be ſure to have them all to ſeek again the next Day when he wants them? Juſt like this is the common Way of Proceeding in our Schools, where the Uſe of Literal Tranſlations is rejected. Help of the beſt Kind is provided for Boys, by Virtue whereof they may proceed eaſily, chearfully, and expeditiouſly, in their Buſineſs; and yet a great many Maſters will not let them make uſe of it, but inſtead thereof will oblige the poor Children to waſte two Thirds at leaſt of their Time in Sauntering and Play, or thumbing the Leaves of a Dictionary to Pieces, for the Benefit of the Bookſellers, who alone reap any Benefit from this Piece of Wiſdom, whilſt the poor Boys only loſe their Time, and the Parents their Mouey by it.

But perhaps it may be alledged, (for ſome I have known weak enough to make the Allegation) 'That the getting their Leſſons by a Dictionary fixes the Meaning of Words better in the Memory of Boys than the Uſe of Tranſlations.' To which I anſwer, ſuppoſing it practicable for young Boys to get their Leſſons by the Help of a Dictionary, which I have ſhewn it is not, yet does the toſſing over the Leaves of a Dictionary to find a Word contribute to fix the Meaning of it, when found, in the Memory? If ſo, the longer Boys are in finding a Word, that is, the longer they are 'e're they come at the Senſe

Senſe of a Word, the better they will remember it. As much as to ſay, that the leſs Buſineſs they do, the greater Progreſs they will make; which I fear is too ridiculous to paſs with any body. The turning over the Leaves of a Dictionary, 'tis evident, can ſignify no more to the Purpoſe, than the toſſing of a Ball, or the knocking down of Nine-Pins. What is it then that is of Uſe for fixing the Meaning of a Word in the Memory? 'Tis plainly nothing but ſeeing it in the Dictionary, and repeating it over and over again. And is there any thing of Charm in the Name of a Dictionary, that the ſeeing the Meaning of a Word in a Tranſlation running in a Column along with the Original, join'd with the like Repetition of it, ſhould not produce the ſame Effect, and conduce as much to fix it in the Memory? The Reading a Word three or four Times over in a Dictionary, you ſay, will make a ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Mind. Will not Reading the ſame Word as often over in any other Book, under any other Denomination, produce the like Impreſſion? If not, it muſt be becauſe the Leaf of a Dictionary, as ſuch, has ſome ſtrange bewitching Virtue in it, a Power of operating upon the Mind, and affecting it, which the Leaf of no other Book can poſſibly have.——*Riſum teneatis?*

I HAVE likewiſe heard it alledged, 'That the Uſe of Tranſlations will make Boys idle;' an Allegation more ridiculous, if poſſible, than the former. As Boys' Buſineſs is by the Uſe of Tranſlations rendered vaſtly more eaſy to them, if their Taſk or Leſſon is increaſed in Proportion, as it ought to be, how is there any Encouragement given, or Allowance made, for Idleneſs? Tranſlations are deſigned to aſſiſt Boys in getting their Leſſons only, not in ſaying them to the Maſter. In this latter Caſe the Tranſlations are to be under cloſe Cover, that, by the Manner of the Boys acquitting themſelves, the Maſter may have Proof of their Diligence, or the contrary. And if the ſame Methods are taken to encourage Induſtry, and diſcourage Idleneſs, where Boys are helped by a Tranſlation, as where they have the Help of a Maſter, or are left to the Uſe of a Dictionary, why ſhould they not have the ſame Effect? If Sugar-Plums, Fruit, Play-things, or Half-pence, will make Boys attend diligently to the Inſtructions of a Maſter, or thumb their Dictionary heartily, will they not operate as ſtrongly to make Boys diligent in the Uſe of a Tranſlation? Or, if Correction be neceſſary, why ſhould it not work up a Lad to Induſtry, as well where he has the Aſſiſtance of a Tranſlation, as where he has not? Will a Tranſlation make

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him thicker ſkinned, or leſs ſenſible of Pain? *O rem ridiculam, Cato, & jocoſam!* It is therefore a very ſenſeleſs thing to pretend, that Tranſlations will make Boys idle. One Way to encourage them to Induſtry is, to make their Buſineſs eaſy and pleaſant to them; which Tranſlations certainly do: And therefore are a viſible Means, not to make them idle, but induſtrious. Whereas in the vulgar Method of our Schools, Boys find it impracticable to do their Buſineſs to Content, and ſo are oftentimes rendered deſperately idle, as being convinced by frequent and woful Experience, that no Pains, no Induſtry they can uſe, will avail to ſecure them effectually from the Laſh.

These Objections againſt the Uſe of Tranſlations have not, however, hindered but that Tranſlations have been thought ſo neceſſary for the eaſy and ſpeedy Attainment of the Greek Tongue, that, for above theſe hundred and fifty Years laſt paſt, no Authors in that Language have been publiſhed without them. This might, one would think, have naturally led the World to the Purſuit of the ſame Method, at leaſt with the eaſier Authors of the Latin Tongue, for the Uſe of Schools. For muſt it not needs appear to any conſiderate Man a little unaccountable, that Tranſlations ſhould be thought uſeful and neceſſary for Men or elder Boys, in order to their more eaſy and ſpeedy Progreſs in the Greek Tongue, but neither neceſſary nor uſeful for younger Boys in the Attainment of the Latin? Is it agreeable to Reaſon or common Senſe, to ſuppoſe a Boy of ſixteen or ſeventeen Years of Age ſtands in need of a Tranſlation, to aſſiſt him in reading of Greek, but that a Boy of ten or twelve may do his Buſineſs in the Latin Tongue eaſily and expeditiouſly enough without any ſuch Help? Has a Child of that Age more Senſe for the conſulting and uſing a Latin Dictionary, than he has for making Uſe of a Greek Lexicon when he is arrived almoſt at the Years of Manhood? And what ſorry Work would Boys make of it, if, upon entering the Greek Teſtament, they ſhould be denied the Uſe of a Latin Teſtament, to help them in getting their Leſſons, and be obliged to pick the Meaning of their Words out of a Lexicon? Every body can ſee the Abſurdity of ſuch a Manner of proceeding in this Inſtance, and would be forward enough to cry out againſt any Maſter that ſhould be guilty of it. And yet the like Abſurdity committed in the Teaching of the Latin Tongue goes glibly down, and paſſes for the moſt proper Way of Proceeding. Now what is it that diſpoſes Men to make ſo wide a Difference, where there is none at all in the Nature of Things? Nothing but Cuſtom, the great Rule that moſt Men uſually go by in the

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moſt important Affairs of Life without conſulting their Reaſon at all. Very few have the noble Freedom of Mind to examine Things ſtrictly and impartially, in order to make the Reſult of ſuch Examination the Rule of their Conduct. The Generality chuſe to ſave themſelves that Trouble, by going with the Herd, *qua itur, non qua eundum eſt*, as a great Man among the Antients words himſelf upon Occaſion of making the ſame Remark, if my Memory fails me not.

As for the Hebrew Tongue, to facilitate the Learning of that, *Arias Montanus* long ſince publiſhed the Hebrew Bible with an interlineary Verſion, for which, I doubt not, ſuch as apply themſelves to the Study of the Hebrew Language, are thankful to his Memory, at leaſt they have a good deal of Reaſon, I am ſure, having received myſelf a great deal of Benefit from the Uſe of it in learning that Language. And Mr. *Locke* was ſo ſenſible of the vaſt Help to be had from Literal Tranſlations, that he did not think it below him to publiſh *Æſop*'s Fables in the ſame Form as *Montanus* did the Hebrew Bible, with an interlineary Verſion. I grant indeed that Way of publiſhing Authors with the Tranſlation ſo intermixed with the Original, is not proper for Schools. But however, what thoſe two Gentlemen did in that Way, ſhews ſufficiently their Opinion of the Uſefulneſs of Literal Tranſlations. And the latter, Mr. *Locke*, thought ſo well of them, that he declares in his *Book of Education*, Mothers may by the Help of them teach their Sons the Latin Tongue themſelves, if they pleaſe. *Whatever Stir*, ſays he, *there is made about getting of Latin, his* (a young Gentleman's) *Mother may teach it him herſelf, if ſhe will but ſpend two or three Hours in a Day with him, and make him read the Evangeliſts in Latin to her. For ſhe need but buy a Latin Teſtament, and having got ſomebody to mark the laſt Syllable but one, in Words of above two Syllables (which is enough to regulate her Pronunciation) read daily in the Goſpels, and then let her avoid underſtanding them in Latin, if ſhe can. And when ſhe underſtands the Evangeliſts in Latin, let her in the ſame Manner read* Æſop's *Fables, and ſo proceed on to* Eutropius, Juſtin, *and other ſuch Books. I do not mention this as an Imagination of what I fancy may do, but as of a Thing I have known done, and the Latin Tongue with Eaſe got this Way.*

To conclude, the Uſe of *Literal Tranſlations* has no Difficulty in it, employs nothing but Memory. The Boys have proper Words all ready at hand, without the tedious and oftentimes fruitleſs Labour of hunting and poring in a Dictionary, or

that of troubling their Maſter or School-fellows for them; and ſo go ſmoothly forward, without any Rubs in their Way, or Loſs of Time, and with a great deal of Satisfaction to find their Buſineſs to very eaſy. And I ſhall venture to ſay, what I believe few Men of Senſe, that will but duly conſider what has been ſaid above, will gainſay, That a Boy by the Help of Literal Tranſlations would make a better Progreſs in the Language in one Year, than without them he could do in three or four.

Nor are Literal Tranſlations of Latin Authors uſeful only for the lower Forms of a School, but likewiſe for the higher, or ſuch as can read them pretty well, without any ſuch Help, as well to bring them to a more complete Acquaintance with them, in the moſt expeditious Manner, as likewiſe to a Readineſs in the writing and ſpeaking of proper Latin, by reading the Tranſlation into the original Latin of the Author. Conſtant Converſation in Latin, with ſuch as talk it well, would indeed be of great Uſe for that Purpoſe. But then very little can be done in that Way at School. For to confine Boys to the talking of Latin amongſt themſelves, before they have attained any tolerable Skill in the Language, is abſurd, and a Means to prevent their ever ſpeaking or writing it well. If Boys are to be ſo confined, they ought to be conſtantly attended by a good Maſter, to help them out upon all Occaſions, by furniſhing them with proper Language. But this is manifeſtly impracticable, where there are but two Maſters in a School, or, as is oftentimes the Caſe, but one. A ready and proper Uſe of the Latin Tongue is a Matter of very great Difficulty, and never to be attained by Boys talking barbarouſly amongſt themſelves; if it is at all attainable at School. For my Part, I never yet knew ſo much as one Inſtance of its being attained there, in any School that has come within the Reach of my Obſervation, or indeed any thing like it. Nay I have talked with very ingenious Men, of uncommon Learning, and beſides Perſons of conſiderable Experience in that Way, who looked upon the bringing Boys at School to any thing of a true and genuine Latin Stile wholly impracticable. Now, tho' I will not affirm this, yet I muſt be allowed to ſay, it is a Matter of very great Difficulty, inſomuch that I greatly queſtion, whether any Method that can be taken with them will be found generally ſucceſsful, in any reaſonable Time, beſides this I here recommend. All the Grammar, indeed, neceſſary for the Purpoſe may eaſily be taught them: But when that is done, the Main of the Difficulty is ſtill behind, as every one muſt be ſenſible that knows much of the Latin Tongue. A ready Uſe of proper Terms, and

and of proper Phraſes, or Forms of Expreſſion, upon all Occaſions, ſeems hardly attainable in any reaſonable Time, or the longeſt Term of the Continuance of Boys at Grammar-Schools, but in the Method I propoſe. This, I ſay, will be the moſt ready, expeditious Method that can be taken, at School however, to furniſh the Mind with a Plenty of Words, and a Variety of Phraſes and Expreſſions for the ſame Senſe, and that without any Danger of Error, which the Uſe of Dictionaries and Phraſe-Books would be attended with. For none indeed can receive any great Benefit from them for that Purpoſe, but ſuch as are good Judges in the Latin Tongue, and well acquainted with the Idiom thereof already.

LITERAL TRANSLATIONS Boys are to begin with; and after they have gone through four or five Authors, in the Method of reading ſuch Tranſlations into the very original Latin of the Authors, they are to be advanced to *Free* and *Elegant Tranſlations*. Two or three of the fineſt Claſſick Hiſtorians, with *Terence*, and ſome of the Epiſtles, and other Pieces of *Tully*, publiſhed with ſuch Tranſlations, would, in Conjunction with the Claſſick Hiſtorians I have already publiſhed with Literal Tranſlations, be ſufficient for the Purpoſe of attaining a ready Uſe of a good Latin Style, perhaps equal to Converſation itſelf, if not preferable to it, at leaſt in one Reſpect more advantageous, by furniſhing the *Tyro* with better Latin for his Engliſh, as oft as he wants it, than any, even the greateſt Maſters of the Latin Tongue, could help him to, in the Way of Converſation. For the great Advantage of conſtant Converſation for the Attainment of any Language, lies in the perpetual Exerciſe of the Invention, in what a Man ſays himſelf, and the like perpetual Aſſiſtance given to his Invention, in the conſtant Suggeſtion of proper Language by thoſe he converſes with. Now both theſe Advantages are to be had from the Method of Proceeding here adviſed, and the latter of them to a greater Degree of Perfection, than can be had in the Way of Converſation. For in converſing to attain the Uſe of a Language, the Learner employs his Invention to expreſs his Thoughts properly; he hunts and caſts about continually for Words and Phraſes that may ſuit his Deſign. If he delivers himſelf improperly, or ſticks and ſtammers for want of Language, thoſe he converſes with correct his Improprieties, and help him to what is proper, which he carefully attends to, and repeats it, may be, two or three Times to himſelf, to make it ſtick by him, againſt another Occaſion. Juſt ſo too in attempting to read a Tranſlation into Latin, the Learner ſtretches

ſtretches his Invention, and ſtudies for proper Words and Phraſeology, *viz.* that of the Original, which he has peruſed carefully over, comparing it Period by Period, with the Tranſlation, to prepare him for the Work he is upon. If he cannot ſatisfy himſelf therein, or is at a Stop, one ſingle Caſt of his Eye upon the Latin Column informs him in what he wants, which he reads with cloſe Attention over and over, in order to remember it againſt a repeated Peruſal of the Paragraph or Chapter. Thus the Invention is as much exerciſed and aſſiſted in this Way of uſing Tranſlations, as in Converſation; in which Exerciſe and Aſſiſtance given to the Invention lies the whole Advantage of Converſation for the attaining of a Language. Nay, the Invention is more ſubſtantially aſſiſted in the former Caſe. For the Claſſick Authors were Men of the moſt eminent Parts, who writ in their native Language, writ at Leiſure and upon Deliberation, reviewed and corrected their Works over and over, thereby reducing them to ſuch an Accuracy and Exactneſs, as no modern Talker of Latin muſt pretend to in an Extempore Effuſion, or the Swiftneſs and Hurry of Converſation. So that I think, I need not ſcruple to pronounce, that the Way of uſing Tranſlations for the attaining to ſpeak Latin, which I here adviſe, is even preferable to the beſt Converſation that is to be had in that Language.

But *Literal Tranſlations* of Latin Authors are not only very uſeful for Boys at School, but Men too, eſpecially ſuch as having got a pretty good Inſight into the Latin Tongue at School, but through Diſuſe forgot it in a great Meaſure, are deſirous to recover it: Which may de done with a great deal of Eaſe, by the Help of ſuch Books as I have publiſh'd, viz. *Cordery*, *Eraſmus*, *Eutropius*, *Florus*, *C. Nepos*, *Suetonius*, *Juſtin*, *Introduction to the Making of Latin*, *A new Grammar of the Latin Tongue.* One Hour or two employed in reading Claſſick Authors with ſuch Tranſlations as the above, every Day, for a Year together, will bring Gentlemen that are ignorant of the Latin Tongue, to read Proſe with Eaſe and Pleaſure; after which the Poets will not be difficult for them to underſtand, by the Help of ſuch Notes as they are publiſhed with, eſpecially now the Way is paved for them, by a Literal Tranſlation of *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſes.* So that I am not wholly without Hopes, I may, by the Books I have publiſhed, to facilitate the Learning of the Latin Tongue, have done a piece of acceptable Service to ſuch Gentlemen, as are deſirous of regaining or improving the Skill they had acquired

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at School. Few grown People will ever have the Patience to hammer out ſuch a Language as the Latin, by the Help of a Dictionary. That would require more Time than any one in a thouſand can or will ſpare. But in this Way of Proceeding, the regaining, or improving in the Latin Tongue, will but be a new Kind of Diverſion, which the World has hitherto been unacquainted with. The Time Gentlemen need to employ that Way, is leſs than thoſe who are the moſt taken up with Buſineſs, uſually ſpend upon their Pleaſures.

I PROCEED now to treat of *Free* and *Proper Tranſlations*, wherein a large Liberty is taken of departing from the Letter of the Latin, in order to make the moſt handſome proper Engliſh. Now the great Uſefulneſs of Claſſick Authors, publiſhed with ſuch Tranſlations, is ſo very apparent, that I wonder no body has attempted any thing of this Kind before me. Engliſh Tranſlations indeed of many of them have been publiſhed by themſelves, as being deſigned, I ſuppoſe, purely for the Uſe of ſuch as are ignorant of the Latin Tongue, by preſenting them, for their Information or Amuſement, with that in Engliſh, which they could not come at in the Original, without any further View or Intention at all. But then ſuch Tranſlations may be of the greateſt Uſe for other important Purpoſes, upon account of which it is highly convenient to have them publiſhed along with the Originals. As,

I. CLASSICK Authors, ſo publiſhed, will be vaſtly ſerviceable for the eaſy and ſpeedy Improvement of ſuch as, having no great Acquaintance with the Latin Tongue, are deſirous of attaining a competent Skill therein, ſo as to read Authors of all Sorts eaſily and familiarly. I do not ſay that Tranſlations, wherein a good deal of Freedom is taken of departing from the Letter or Words of the Original, are at all for the Purpoſe of ſuch as have but little or no Knowledge of the Latin Tongue, to begin with in order to their learning of that Language. No. Such ought, in the firſt Place, to make Uſe of Literal Tranſlations, 'till they have got a pretty general Acquaintance with Words; after which they may proceed to ſuch as are Free and Proper, by the Help whereof they will read an Author ſubſtantially over in a fourth Part of the Time they could do without, to ſpeak within Compaſs.

II. THE publiſhing of Claſſick Authors, with proper and handſome Tranſlations, will be very convenient for thoſe that are deſirous to attain a Faculty of writing and ſpeaking Latin with Propriety and Readineſs. The Way will be to read the Original and Tranſlation together, 'till they can read or render the

the latter into the Words of the original Latin preciſely and exactly. The being thus accuſtomed to ſee the Idiom of the two Languages go conſtantly together, joined with continual Efforts for rendering the one by the other, will make the Idiom of the Latin Language almoſt as familiar to the Mind as that of the Engliſh. And I ſhall be bold to ſay, that this is far beyond every thing elſe that can be done, at School however, for the eaſy and ready Attainment of a good Latin Stile. But upon this Point I have enlarged ſufficiently above.

III. Another Uſe that may be made of Claſſick Authors, ſo publiſhed, is for the eaſy quick Attainment of a good Engliſh Stile. And the Way thereto is here again for a Perſon to compare the Original and Tranſlation together 'till he is able to render the Latin Text very readily into the preciſe Words of the Tranſlation. What woful Stuff do Boys at School, for want of this Help, uſually render the Claſſick Authors into, in the conſtruing of their Leſſons! By which we may eaſily account for what ſome have obſerved, (Mr *Locke* and the *Spectator*, if my Memory fails me not) that Men educated to Letters, who have threſhed hard at Latin for nine or ten Years together, are oftentimes very deficient in their own Language: And no Wonder. For how ſhould thoſe who have, for ſo many Years together at School, been ſo much inured to vile barbarous Language, be able to deliver themſelves in much better, with any great Eaſe or Readineſs. It is Uſe makes Perfectneſs in every thing Mankind have occaſion to learn in order to practiſe. And therefore it is not to be expected that our Youth, after they have run through the Courſe of a Grammar School, ſhould have any Talent at the writing or ſpeaking handſome Engliſh, with any Eaſe or Fluency, if they have never been uſed to any thing of that Kind there, but, inſtead thereof, have had the Reliſh of their Minds vitiated by a perpetual Run of improper barbarous Language, or meer Gibberiſh. But, in the Way of proceeding here adviſed to, the Caſe is the reverſe. The Invention's being ſo conſtantly exerciſed in Search of proper handſome Language, and withal as conſtantly aſſiſted in the moſt ſubſtantial Matter, and preſently ſet a going again, in caſe of any Stop or Difficulty, muſt needs render ſuch Language very familiar to the Mind, and make it occur, upon all Occaſions of writing or ſpeaking, with great Eaſe and Readineſs. In ſhort, I ſay this Way of uſing Free and Proper Tranſlations of Claſſick Authors is ſo apparently of the greateſt and moſt excellent Uſe for the Purpoſe of writing and ſpeaking good Engliſh with Eaſe and Fluency, that, in

my

my Opinion, the Matter can admit of no Diſpute amongſt Perſons of any Senſe or Conſideration at all.

THE ſeveral Uſes before-mentioned to be made of Claſſick Authors, publiſhed together with handſome elegant Tranſlations, ſhew of what prodigious Advantage it would be to our Grammar-Schools, to have ſome of the choiceſt among them ſo publiſhed. Half a Dozen ſuch thrown into our Schools, and uſed there as they ſhould be, would certainly work a wonderful Effect, ſuch as would ſoon be very viſible all the Nation over, by much greater and quicker Improvement of Youth in both the Languages of Latin and Engliſh together. Now the Way of exerciſing Boys in Claſſicks ſo publiſhed would be to make them get three or four Leſſons in the Original, to read exactly into the Tranſlation, and, when that is done, to make them go the ſame Leſſons over again, and get the Tranſlation to read as exactly back again into the original Latin. This (I ſay it again, and deſire the Reader will take Notice of it) will, in my Opinion, be the moſt effectual expeditious Method to bring Youth to an eaſy elegant Uſe of both Languages, that can poſſibly be taken with them.

FROM the Whole of what has been ſaid upon this Subject of Tranſlations, I ſhall venture to draw this Concluſion, that a Man of but a very moderate Skill in the Latin Tongue may acquit himſelf, in the Teaching of it, by the Help of Tranſlations, with much greater Succeſs, than the moſt able Critick in the Language can do without. I have had as much Experience in the Buſineſs of Education as moſt Men that have engaged in it. I have taught in the common Method, and in my own, ſo far as it was practicable, (for we are yet far from having all the Claſſicks publiſhed with Tranſlations that are neceſſary for the Aſſiſtance of our Youth at School, to ſay nothing of other Helps that are wanting) and I add too, that I have thought as much upon the Subject of Education, as perhaps any Man whatever: and I do pretend to ſay, that, in the common Method of Education, where the Uſe of Literal Tranſlations is diſallowed, Youth muſt thereby alone ſuffer a Loſs of at leaſt two Years' Time, upon a moderate Computation. So that take two Boys of equal Age and Capacity, and let one ſtart two Years before the other, in the reading of Authors, according to the vulgar Way of proceeding, and I will be anſwerable for it, that the latter ſhall, by the Help of Tranſlations, in a Year, or two at the moſt, clearly out-do the former, that had ſo much the ſtart of him. Now if this be ſo, as I am pretty ſure of it, here is two Years' Time quite loſt; to which if we

add two Years more Boys loſe by trifling in *Lilly*'s Grammar, which I am ſure is but a reaſonable Suppoſition, here is a Loſs of no leſs than four Years of the propereſt Time in human Life for the learning of Languages, to be charged to the Account of the uſual Management of Youth in Grammar-Schools, with reſpect to thoſe two articles alone, the rejecting of proper Helps for reading the eaſier Authors, and the Uſe of an ill-contrived Grammar in Latin.

Now if this Time was to be ſaved by receiving into our Schools a competent Number of the Claſſicks with Literal Tranſlations, and the Uſe of a compendious methodical Grammar in Engliſh; and the other Faults in the vulgar Way of teaching, which I have taken Notice of in my *Eſſay upon Education*, were reformed, and other Helps provided for Schools, which I have there directed to, what a prodigious Advantage would it be to the Youth of the Nation? How finely might ſuch as are naturally qualified to make Scholars (for all are not ſo) go furniſhed to an Univerſity, by the Age of eighteen or nineteen Years? which is as ſoon, I think, as Youth ought to be ſent thither, let their Parts be what they will. They would not only acquire a much greater Acquaintance with the Languages and Antiquities of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, than they now uſually do in the beſt Schools, but go off prettily accompliſhed in their own Language, with a competent Skill in Hiſtory and Geography, both Ancient and Modern, the Uſe of the Globes, Chronology, &c. What a noble Foundation would thus be laid for Academical Studies? And if this be ſo, the Matter may well deſerve the moſt ſerious Conſideration of all ſober worthy Gentlemen, concerned for the Good of their own Children, and that of their native Country together.

I HAVE now done with this important Article of Education, and, I hope, done enough to ſatisfy any reaſonable unprejudiced Reader, of the Neceſſity for a further Reformation of the vulgar Method of Proceeding in our Schools, as to this Particular. I flatter myſelf, that what has been ſaid, carries ſo much Light and Evidence along with it, that very little, if any thing at all, can be ſaid againſt it, with any Appearance of Reaſon. And if ſo, it were much to be wiſhed, our School-Maſters, who ſtill ſtand out againſt a Thing ſo plainly for their own Eaſe and Intereſt, as well as the Good of the Publick, would take the Matter under their moſt ſerious Conſideration. But whilſt Prejudice, or a ſupine Neglect of Information in ſome, and a haughty Diſdain in others to receive any Inſtructions, or accept of any Helps, from one they conceive perhaps to be much below

low them, keep ſo many of our Maſters up to old Forms, the Youth of the Kingdom ſuffer miſerably by it in their Education. And therefore it were further to be wiſhed, that Gentlemen who are convinced of the Reaſonableneſs of what I have been pleading for, would be pleaſed to add the Weight of their Authority to my poor Endeavours, and diſcountenance, by their Reſentment, the Practice of ſuch Abſurdity upon their Sons, as ſtill generally prevails in the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools. All I ſhall add is, that ſuch Gentlemen as like the Sentiments delivered in this Diſſertation, may, I humbly preſume to hope, find many more equally agreeable to them, upon all the Branches of Education, in my *Eſſay* upon the Subject, as likewiſe upon all the Branches of Literature, in a Book I publiſhed ſome Time ago, under the Title of, *An Eſſay upon Study, wherein Directions are given for the due Conduct thereof, and the Collection of a Library proper for the Purpoſe, conſiſting of the choiceſt Books in all the ſeveral Parts of Learning.*

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C. CRISPI

# C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

# VITA.

BONORUM virorum timiditati, inconſtantiæ, aut imprudentiæ vix ignoſcere poſſumus, ſi quid aliquando moribus ſuis indignum, & anteactæ vitæ minus conſentaneum protulerint. Sed multo magis iram noſtram movent improborum honeſti ſermones; quibus, ut nequitiam ſuam occultent, certiuſque noceant, uti ſolent: nihil enim ſceleratius, quam armis virtutis uti, ut vitium tuearis. Non puto autem quemquam pravæ hujus ſimulationis labe magis infectum vixiſſe, quam celeberrimum hiſtoricum C. CRISPUM SALLUSTIUM, ut liquebit ex ejus vita; quam ex veteribus colligere ſtatui, ut quicumque eam legent, hoc exemplo intelligant, non eſſe propterea exiſtimandum bonum quemquam fuiſſe, quod virtutem calamo defenderit, niſi conſtet mores cum ſermonibus conſenſiſſe. Nemo certe elegantius & acrius in ſuæ ætatis vitia, quam Salluſtius, invectus eſt; nec quiſquam vitæ minus ſeveræ fuit.

Natus erat *(a)* Amiterni, in Sabinis, apud quos extant etiamnum antiquæ ſeveritatis reliquiæ, anno ab urbe condita *(b)* DCLXIX. L. Cornelio Cinna III. & Cn. Papirio Carbone coſſ. Hi Sullæ infenſi bellum civile concitarunt, quod non deſiit, niſi poſtquam Sulla, triennio poſt, rerum potitus eſt. His annis, omnis generis flagitia in Italia commiſſa, plebeiæque & nobiles familiæ graviſſimas calamitates paſſæ ſunt: unde intelligere licet miſerrimo ac flagitioſiſſimo ævo natum eſſe Salluſtium, & quo multo plura, quæ vitaret, quam quæ ſequeretur, videbat. Parentes tamen ejus inculpatæ vitæ fuiſſe credibile ſit, quod priſcus declamator, qui nomine Ciceronis in Salluſtium invectus eſt, omniaque conquiſivit, quæ in eum dici poſſent, nihil in fama, rumoribuſque ſubſequentis ætatis invenerit, quod iis exprobraret. Patrem certe Salluſtii ſe *præterire* ait; *qui ſi*, inquit, *numquam in vita ſua peccaſſet, tamen majorem injuriam reipublicæ facere non potuiſſet, quam quod eum talem filium genuerat*. Subjicit, ſe *non exſequi ſi qua in pueritia peccaſſet Salluſtius, ne parentem ejus accuſare videretur, qui eo tempore ſummam ejus poteſtatem habuit*. Quæ verba ſatis oſtendunt, probra nulla in hiſtorici noſtri parentes tunc temporis jacta; neque enim iis vehemens declamator peperciſſet, ut Salluſtii nequitiam credibiliorem redderet.

Plebeiam ejus familiam, non patriciam, ut nonnulli volunt, fuiſſe liquet, ex eo quod tribunus plebis fuerit; ac ſane ubique in nobiles invehitur, ac præſertim in hiſtoria belli Jugurthini, & poſteriore epiſtola ad C. Cæſarem *De Republica Ordinanda*.

*(a)* Vide Euſebium in chron. ad ann. MDCCCCXXXI.
*(b)* A. C. LXXXV.

A teneris annis excultam eloquentiam, & operam diligentem literis a Salluſtio datam, ſatis oſtendunt ejus ſcripta; neque enim ita ſcribunt, qui ſerius ſeſe ad literarum ſtudia contulerunt. Ideo fidem ei minime detraxerim dicenti, epiſt. II. ad Cæſarem, *poſtquam ſibi ætas ingeniumque adoleviſſet, ſe haud ferme armis atque equis corpus exercuiſſe, ſed animum in literis agitaſſe*; *&, quod natura firmius erat, ingenium in laboribus habuiſſe.* Sed & hoc diſerte teſtatur *(a) Suetonius*; præceptorem enim ejus fuiſſe docet Atteium Prætextatum, nobilem grammaticum Latinum, qui ſe *Philologum* vocavit, & qui Salluſtium familiariſſime coluit. Vix tamen videtur, more aliorum, cauſas actitaſſe, ut gratiam ac famam ſibi actionibus forenſibus compararet. Nulla certe memoria ejus rei apud veteres; nec Cicero, qui tot æqualium ſuorum, qui operam ſuam venditarunt in foro, meminit, C. Criſpi Salluſtii mentionem ullam uſquam fecit. Si quis ſilentii cauſam fuiſſe inimicitiam, quæ inter eos fuit, ſuſpicetur: doceat, cur Cicero ejus ſaltem obiter non meminerit, ut vituperaret. Ac ſane genus eloquentiæ Salluſtianæ minus aptum foro fuit, aptiſſimum hiſtoriæ, quæ ab otioſis legitur. Quare *(b)* Quintilianus, vitari oportere judicat in cauſis agendis illam Salluſtianam (quamquam in ipſo virtutis locum obtinet) brevitatem, & abruptum ſermonis genus, quod otioſum fortaſſe lectorem minus fallit, audientem tranſvolat.

Declamator, *(c)* quem dixi, turpiſſimam adoleſcentiam Salluſtio exprobrat, nefandarumque voluptatum amorem objicit; quæ criminationes, ut falſæ eſſe poſſunt, non omnino incredibiles ob ſequuta flagitia videntur. *Domum paternam*, ſi accuſatori credimus,

*(a)* In lib. de illuſtribus grammaticis, c. 10. *(b)* Lib. iv. cap. 2. *(c)* cap. 5.

*vivo patre, turpiſſime venalem habuit, ac vendidit*; morique coegit ex mœrore patrem, quo nondum mortuo, jam pro herede omnia gerebat. Nec ætatis tirocinio lapſus, poſtea ſe correxit, ſed abiit in ſodalitium ſacrilegi neſcio cujus Nigidiani: bis accuſatus eſt apud judices, bis abſolutus; verum ita ut non innocens eſſe, ſed judices perjuraſſe viderentur.

Cum ad capeſſendos reipublicæ honores contenderet, *(a)* quæſturam eſt conſequutus, quam ſi petiit legitimo anno, hoc eſt, vigeſimo quinto, quæſtor fuit A. U. C. *(b)* DCXCIV. Quinto Cæcilio Metello Celere & L. Afranio coſſ. Alioſne honores ambiverit, an difficultatibus deterritus ad privatam vitam, iis miſſis, conceſſerit, non ſatis liquet. Ab hoc certe tempore nullos honores, ad tribunatum uſque plebis, geſſit. In ipſo adoleſcentiæ ardore, videtur ea admiſiſſe, quæ æternam nomini ejus infamiam inuſſerunt. M. Varro, *(c)* ſcriptor graviſſimus, in libro quem inſcripſerat Pius, aut de Pace, C. Salluſtium in adulterio deprehenſum cum Fauſta, Sullæ filia, a Milone ejus viro loris bene cæſum, &, cum pecuniam dediſſet, dimiſſum fuiſſe prodidit.

Attamen A. U. C. DCCII. *(d)* tribunatum plebis adeptus eſt, tempore quo uſque adeo turbata erat reſpublica, ut eo deventum ſit, ut Cn. Pompejus Magnus conſul ſine collega crearetur. Cum autem paullo ante T. Annius Milo P. Clodium occidiſſet, Pompejuſque legem de vi tuliſſet, qua inſtituebatur quæſtio de ea cæde; ulciſcendi occaſionem nactus Salluſtius, ſibi non defuit. Cum duobus aliis tribunis plebis inimiciſſimas conciones, ut ſcribit Aſconius Pedianus in Ciceronis Milonianam, de Milone habuit, invidioſas etiam de Ci-

*(a)* Ibidem. *(b)* A. C. LX. *(c)* Apud Aul. Gellium, lib. XVII.. c. 18. Vide et veterem Scholiaſten Horatii ad Sat. lib. I. *(d)* A. C. N. LII.

cerone,

cerone, quod Milonem ſummo ſtudio defenderet; eratque maxima pars multitudinis infenſa non ſolum Miloni, ſed ipſi etiam, propter inviſum patrocinium, Ciceroni. Poſtea tamen cum de accuſandi ſtudio multum remiſiſſet Salluſtius, in ſuſpicione fuit in gratiam rediiſſe cum Milone & Cicerone.

Crediderim, hiſce temporibus, ſcriptam fuiſſe hiſtoriam Catilinariæ conjurationis; cum Salluſtius, exacto tribunatus tempore, privatus ageret, nec Ciceroni eſſet infenſus; rem enim ita narrat, ut, ea lecta hiſtoria, nemo non acta Ciceronis ſit probaturus. Forte & bellum Jugurthinum, & civilia, quæ id inſequuta ſunt, aliaque cum iis connexa, eodem illo tempore conſcripſit, aut aliquanto poſterius. Certe non ſunt ea ſcripta hominis adoleſcentis, teſtaturque ipſe, initio conjurationis Catilinariæ, ſe tum demum hiſtoriam aggreſſum ſcribere, (a) *ubi animus ex multis miſeriis atque periculis requievit, & ſibi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendam decrevit*; quod vix ante tribunatum, quem anno ætatis XLI. geſſit, fieri potuit. Tum vero ſtatuit *res geſtas populi Romani carptim*, (ſic ipſe loquitur) *ut quæque memoria digna viderentur, perſcribere*; *eo magis, quod ei a ſpe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber erat.* Hæc ſunt verba hominis honores nullos amplius ſperantis, aut certe ambitionem egregie diſſimulantis. At nec ante diſſimularat honorum cupiditatem, nec poſtea, rerum potiente Cæſare, eorum contemptum præ ſe tulit.

Itaque ante omnia Catilinariam conjurationem, quæ contigerat anno ejus vitæ XXX. ac proinde cujus teſtis fuerat, ſcribere undecim circiter poſt annis aggreſſus eſt, ſi calculos recte ponimus. Tum Jugurthinum bellum, quod, diu antequam naſceretur, & civile, quod eo puero geſtum eſt, conſcripſit. Periit poſtremum opus,

(a) Cap. 3.

ſi

ſi fragmenta quædam excipias, quæ tamen ſat ampla ad nos pervenerunt, ut ex iis intelligere poſſimus, non minus accurate ac cetera perſcriptum fuiſſe. Sed *(a)* mihi videor ex loco Auſonii poſſe colligere tempora, quorum hiſtoriam ſcripſerat Salluſtius, in iis libris qui perierunt. Auſonius in idyllio XXXII. ad nepotem, docet puerum, quos libros legere eum oporteat, & quos ipſe in gratiam ejus in manum iterum ſumere ſit paratus. Itaque memorato Terentio, ſic loquitur de Salluſtii libris:

*Jam facinus, Catilina, tuum, Lepidique tumultum;*
*Ab Lepido & Catulo jam res & tempora Romæ*
*Orſus, bis ſenos ſeriem connecto per annos.*
*Jam lego civili miſtum Mavorte duellum,*
*Movit quod ſocio Sertorius exſul Ibero.*

Hæc ſunt omnia opera Salluſtii, excepto bello Jugurthino, quod cur omiſerit Auſonius, non intelligo. Forte aliquot verſus vetuſtate interciderunt. I. Occurrit bellum Catilinarium, de quo nihil neceſſe eſt dicere. II. Hiſtoria tumultus excitati a Marco Æmilio Lepido, anno urbis conditæ DCLXXXVII. poſtquam anno ſuperiori conſul fuiſſet: is tumultus a Pompejo & Catulo oppreſſus eſt, eodem anno. III. Inde Salluſtius ſcripſerat hiſtoriam rerum in republica Romana per duodecim annos geſtarum, ante Lepidi tumultum; quorum duodecim annorum initium fecerim circiter ab anno U. C. DCLXIII. quo bellum Marſicum inchoatum; ab eo enim tempore, uſque ad extremam dictaturam Sullæ, duodecim circiter anni fluxerunt. Multa autem inveniuntur fragmenta Salluſtii, ex quibus liquet eum res a Sulla geſtas ſcripſiſſe; quæ ea temporis intercapedine continentur. IV. Bellum ſcripſerat Sertorianum, quod cœperat ſub finem vitæ Sullæ, proximeque duodecim annos memoratos conſequebatur; Metellus enim in Hiſpaniam contra Sertorium miſſus eſt anno

*(a)* Suetonius de Ill. Gramm. cap. x.

U. C.

U. C. DCLXXIV. qui duodecim illorum annorum ultimus fuit. Si ea hiſtoria ad receptas uſque Hiſpanias pertexta eſt, quod credibile videtur, pertinuit ad annum DCLXXXI. nam eo demum anno, occiſis Sertorio & Perperna, pacatæ ſunt Hiſpaniæ.

Hinc videmus quamvis Salluſtius carptim ſcripſiſſet hiſtoriam Romanam, nec continua temporum ſerie lucubrationes ſuas edidiſſet, ex tribus poſtremo memoratis operibus potuiſſe contexi circiter octodecim annorum hiſtoriam; quæ utinam ſane extaret! Fragmenta enim ejus ſitim noſtram excitant, non reſtinguunt. Hi autem libri, quamvis ab auctore eo ordine, quem memorat Auſonius, editi, videntur poſtea a grammaticis in ordinem quemdam redacti, ut ex tribus operibus una conflaretur hiſtoria, librique ejus perpetuo ordine a primo ad ultimum decurrerent, commodiuſque ad teſtimonium citarentur. Aſinius Pollio, in libro quo Salluſtii ſcripta reprehenderat, ut nimia priſcorum verborum adfectatione oblita, tradebat, *In eam rem adjutorium ei feciſſe maxime quendam Atteium Prætextatum, nobilem grammaticum Latinum, declamantium deinde adjutorem atque præceptorem.* Ab hoc aiebat, *Salluſtium, hiſtoriam ſcribere aggreſſum, breviario rerum omnium Romanarum, ex quibus quas vellet eligeret, inſtructum fuiſſe, antiquaque ei verba & figuras ſolitum eum eſſe colligere.* Videtur grammaticus non ignobilis ea in re ingenio ac voluntati Salluſtii gratificatus eſſe, potius quam ſuum ipſius judicium ſequutus; nam in præceptis rhetoricis ad Aſinionem Pollionem, ei *nihil aliud ſuadebat*, ut prodidit Suetonius, *quam ut noto, civilique & proprio ſermone uteretur, vitaretque maxime obſcuritatem & audaciam in tranſlationibus.* Credibile eſt, Salluſtium ea re gravitatem ſtyli captaſſe, & priſcorum illorum Romanorum ſermonem imitatum, quorum moribus erat diſſimillimus, ut flagitioſæ vitæ maculas elueret, perſuaderetque iis, quibus ſatis notus non erat, falſa eſſe omnia, quæ de illo minus honeſta jactabantur.

Verum

Verum hæ artes belle homini non ceſſerunt, nam anno *(a)* U. C. DCCIV. coſſ. L. Æmilio Paulo & C. Claudio Marcello, Appius Claudius Pulcher Cenſor, non repugnante collega L. Calpurnio Piſone, omnes libertinos, ut docet Dio, lib. XL. multos etiam nobilium, atque inter eos Criſpum Salluſtium, qui hiſtoriam conſcripſit, ſenatu ejecit. Quod factum, ſi veteribus *(b)* grammaticis credimus, propter adulteria: dicitur enim ab iis *Salluſtius tanto ardore inſaniviſſe in libertinas, quanto mœchus in matronas, quod cum illi in ſenatu a cenſoribus objectum eſſet, reſpondit ſe non matronarum, ſed libertinarum ſectatorem eſſe. Quare ex ſenatu*, inquiunt, *ejectus eſt.* Hoc quoque ei exprobrat perſonatus ille *(c)* Cicero, qui declamatione in ejus mores invectus eſt. Idem nos docet, poſtquam cenſores ſenatum more majorum legiſſent, nuſquam conſpectum eſſe Salluſtium Romæ, ſuſpicaturque tum ſe *conjeciſſe in ea caſtra, quo omnis ſentina reipublicæ confluxerat*; hoc eſt, in Galliam ad Cæſarem ſe contuliſſe. Non minoribus *(d)* conviciis eum exagitavit Lenæus, Pompeji Magni libertus, ex amore erga patroni memoriam, quem Salluſtius ſcripſerat *oris probi, animo inverecundo fuiſſe.* Ideo Lenæus poſtea hiſtoricum noſtrum *acerbiſſima ſatyra*, ut docet Suetonius, *laceravit*, laſtaurum & lurconem & nebulonem popinonemque *appellans*, & vita ſcriptiſque monſtroſum, *præterea* priſcorum, Catoniſque verborum ineruditiſſimum furem. Qua ex occaſione, ſic de Pompejo ſcripſiſſet Salluſtius, poſt interitum ejus hiſtoriæ, conjicere non poſſumus; at conſtat Cæſarianis partibus e ſenatu expulſum faviſſe.

Certe poſteaquam reſpublica armis oppreſſa eſt, anno ſequente, *(e)* U. C. DCCV. C. Claudio Marcello &

*(a)* A. Chr. N. L. *(b)* Schol. in Sat. II. lib. I. Horatii. *(c)* Cap. 5 & 6. *(d)* Suetonius de illuſtr. Gramm. cap. 15. *(e)* Cicero in Salluſt. cap. 6.

L.

L. Cornelio Lentulo coſſ. a Cæſare *(a)* eſt in ſenatum reductus; quæſtura iterum accepta, ut honeſtius in ampliſſimum ordinem reciperetur. Eum autem *honorem*, ſi adverſæ famæ credimus, *ita geſſit, ut nihil in eo non venale habuerit, cujus aliquis emptor fuit. Nihil non æquum ac verum duxit, quod ipſi facere collibuiſſet.* Propter iteratam quæſturam, priſcus declamator, cujus verba protulimus, *bis ſenatorem, bis quæſtorem factum*; ait. At Dio, lib. XLII. vult, ut recuperaret dignitatem ſenatoriam, prætorem creatum. Malim, quæſtura in eum collata, factum hoc eſſe; eo enim magiſtratu capto, Romana juventus ingrediebatur ſenatum.

Hoc tempore, viris doctis videtur ſcripſiſſe ad Cæſarem duas illas literas, quæ perperam orationes inſcribuntur, *De republica ordinanda.* Sed poſteriores quidem, hoc tempore, ſcripſiſſe potuit; at priores non niſi propemodum confecto bello ſcripſit. Malim ergo haſce differre in annum DCCVII, aut certe ad finem anni antecedentis, cum victus eſſet Cn. Pompejus.

Igitur ſub finem *(b)* anni DCCVI. cum in Aſia eſſet Cæſar, ab iis *(c)* qui Roma ad eum venerant cognovit, literiſque urbanis animadvertit, multa Romæ male & inutiliter adminiſtrari, neque ullam partem reipublicæ ſatis commode geri; quod & contentionibus tribunitiis pernicioſæ ſeditiones orirentur, & ambitione atque indulgentia tribunorum militum, & qui legionibus præerant, multa contra morem conſuetudinemque militarem fierent, quæ diſſolvendæ diſciplinæ, ſeveritatiſque eſſent. Hanc crediderim occaſionem fuiſſe ſcri-

*(a)* A. C. N. XLIX. Id. c. 7. *(b)* A. C. N. XLVII. *(c)* Hirtius de Bel. Alexand. cap. 65.

bendi

bendi iterum ad Cæſarem de ordinanda republica: qua de re, cogitare ſerio non potuit, niſi poſt victum Pompeium. Antea quidem Salluſtius, Cæſare nondum in Macedoniam profecto, vigenteque bello, multa monuerat, ea de re, in epiſtola quæ II. oratio perperam dicitur, ubi de M. Bibulo & L. Domitio quaſi viventibus loquitur, cum Bibulus mortuus ſit ante pugnam Pharſalicam, & Domitius ex ea fugiens interfectus. Sed in altera epiſtola, in qua de bello quaſi confecto loquitur, rem eamdem iterum aggreditur. Itaque, quæ prior eſt, eam oportet eſſe poſteriorem, quod ipſum ejus, quæ poſterior eſt, procœmium ſatis oſtendit.

Antequam autem Cæſar contra Scipionem, Pompeji ſocerum, in Africam iret, anno U. C. DCCVII. quo Cæſar iterum dictator fuit, M. Antonius magiſter equitum, prætor factus eſt Salluſtius; qui honor videtur non tam monitorum de republica ordinanda, quam turpium adulationum iis admiſtarum præmium fuiſſe. At Salluſtio propemodum fatalis fuit; *(a)* cum enim eſſet in Campania, apud Cæſarianos milites, mox in Africam tranſmittendos, motaque ab iis eſſet ſeditio, quam fruſtra compeſcere tentavit, ab iis ferme eſt interfectus. Quin etiam cum Romam ad Cæſarem contenderet, ut hac de re certiorem faceret, inſequuti eum complures militum, obvios quoſque occiderunt; ipſum, ſi adipiſci poſſent, e medio ſublaturi.

Cæſar vero, placatis militibus, ſub brumam in Africam, cum parte exercitus, trajecit, ſecumque Salluſtium duxit, quem, paucis diebus poſtquam adpuliſſet, cum penuria annonæ premeretur, *(b)* ad Cercinam in-

*(a)* Ex Dione, lib. XLIII. *(b)* Hirtius de Bello Afric. cap. 8.

ſulam,

ſulam, quam adverſarii tenebant, cum parte navium, ire juſſit, quod ibi magnum numerum frumenti eſſe audiebat. Ejus adventu *(a)* C. Decimius Quæſtorius, qui ibi cum grandi familiæ ſuæ præſidio præerat commeatui, parvulum navigium nactus conſcendit, ac ſe fugæ commendavit. Salluſtius interim a Cercinatibus receptus, magno numero frumenti invento, naves onerarias, quarum ibi ſatis magna copia fuit, complevit, atque in caſtra ad Cæſarem miſit. Quid aliud in eo bello geſſerit Salluſtius, nemo prodidit, ſed fidelem ac ſtrenuam operam Cæſari navaſſe, ex præmio intelligere eſt. Anno *(b)* enim U. C. DCCVII. confecto Africano bello, *(c)* Cæſar eum in Numidia recepta, verbo quidem adminiſtrandæ provinciæ cauſa, reipſa autem expilandæ, pro prætore reliquit. Itaque dona multa Salluſtius accepit, multa rapuit, Romamque deinde reverſus, cum a Numidis accuſaretur, maximam infamiam retulit; quod cum libros ſcripſiſſet, in quibus copioſa & acerba oratione invectus erat in eos qui ex provinciis queſtum feciſſent, rebus ipſis quod ſcripſerat non expreſiſſet. Ne *(d)* tamen cauſam diceret, *(e)* ſeſtertio duodecies cum Cæſare pactus eſt, ſi credimus perſonato Ciceroni. Graviſſimus certe hiſtoricus Dio prodidit eum, licet a Cæſare dimiſſum, ſuis ipſius ſcriptis perennem infamiam ſibi creaſſe, quod vita ab iis prorſus diſſentiret.

Ea præda, *(f)* qui modo ne paternam quidem domum redimere poterat, repente tanquam ſomnio beatus, hortos pretioſiſſimos, qui *(g)* Salluſtiani, ab ejus nomine, dicti ſunt, villam Tiburtinam, & alias poſſeſſiones ſibi comparavit.

*(a)* Ibid. cap. 34. *(b)* A. C. N. XLVI, *(c)* Dion. lib. XLIII. *(d)* Cicer. in Salluſt. cap, 8. *(e)* Nonagies mille ſſ. eoque amplius. *(f)* Cicero in Salluſt. cap. 8. *(g)* De iis vide Fam. Nardinum vet. Romæ, lib. IV. cap. 7.

Qua

Qua ratione vitam poſtea traduxit Salluſtius, veteribus tacentibus, nobis non liquet. Credibile eſt ornandæ domui, exſtruendis villis, deliciiſque undiquaque parandis occupatum fuiſſe; ita ut ſaluberrimis præceptis, quæ in hiſtoriis tradiderat, exemplo ſuo, vim ponduſque detrahere pergeret. De ejus oratione in Ciceronem, & Ciceronis in Salluſtium, nihil addam; quia, licet antiquæ ſint, nec infra ævum Tiberianum, animi cauſa, a rhetore quopiam confictas nemo amplius dubitat.

Septuageſimo ætatis anno, fato functus eſt, quadriennio *(a)* ante bellum Actiacum, hoc eſt, anno *(b)* U. C. DCCXIX. S. Pompejo & S. Cornificio coſſ. Vir ſane fuit memorabilis, ſi hiſtorias ejus ſpectes; quæ, ſi nimium antiquioris ſtyli ſtudium excipias, nullis aliis poſtponendæ ſunt, principemque locum inter Romanos hiſtoricos, etiam judicio veterum, ei pepererunt. Nec brevitatem ac efficaciam ſingularem dictionis duntaxat laudant, ſed etiam veritatis ſtudium; quod ita intelligendum, ut de aliis loquenti fides habeatur, de ſe ipſi nihil credatur niſi quod re ipſa comprobatum eſt. Facile credo, cum ſe reipublicæ longum vale dixiſſe putaret, *(c) conſilium ei non fuiſſe*, ut ipſe dicit, *ſocordia atque deſidia bonum otium conterere, neque vero, agrum colendo ac venando, ſervilibus officiis intentum, ætatem egiſſe*, ſed honeſtioribus ſtudiis & ſcriptionibus, operam dediſſe. At nec oblitum deliciarum ac voluptatum opinor; quibus & puer & adoleſcens & ſenex, quaſi ſirenibus quibuſdam, adhæſit: nec, ut puto, dum hiſtorias florente ætate, ſcriptitaret, nuncium remiſit.

*(a)* Vide Euſeb. in Chron. *(b)* A. C. N. XXXV.
*(c)* Conjur. Catil. cap. 4.

Idem fecit, quod (*a*) plerique philoſophorum, *diſertorum in convicium ſuum, quos ſi audias in avaritiam, in libidinem, in ambitionem perorantes, indicium profeſſos putes, adeo redundant ad ipſos maledicta in publicum miſſa!* Interea ejus hiſtoria, ut ceteris omnibus, utamur oportet, quippe quæ non minus gravia ac utilia præcepta, exemplaque continet, quam ſi ſcriptor ſanctitate morum priſcos omnes ſuperaſſet.

(*a*) Seneca apud Lactant. lib. III. cap. 15.

# C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

# BELLUM CATILINARIUM:

## SIVE DE

## CONJURATIONE CATILINÆ.

OMNIS homines qui ſeſe ſtudent præſtare cæteris animalibus, ſumma ope niti decet, ne vitam ſilentio tranſeant, veluti pecora, quæ natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed noſtra omnis vis in animo & corpore ſita eſt. Animi imperio, corporis ſervitio magis utimur. Alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune eſt. Quo mihi rectius videtur, ingenii, quam virium opibus gloriam quærere; &, quoniam vita ipſa, qua fruimur, brevis eſt, memoriam noſtri quam

*ALL men, who are deſirous to excel other animals, ſhould endeavour by all means not to paſs their days in ſilence, like cattle, which nature has formed in an inclining poſture, and a ſtate of ſubjection to their bellies. But our faculties are of two different kinds, of the body and the ſoul. 'Tis the buſineſs of the ſoul to command, and that of the body to obey. The one we have in common with the Gods, and the other with brutes. And therefore to me it appears more adviſeable to purſue glory by the abilities of the mind, than thoſe of the body; and ſince the life we enjoy, is but ſhort, to make our memories as laſting as poſſible in the world. The ſplendour, riches*

quam maxume longam efficere. Nam divitiarum & formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis eſt; virtus clàra æternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortales certamen fuit; vine corporis, an virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam & prius quam incipias, conſulto; &, ubi conſuleris, mature facto opus eſt: ita utrumque per ſe indigens, alterum alterius auxilio veget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diverſi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant. Etiam tum vita hominum ſine cupiditate agitabatur; ſua cuique ſatis placebant. Poſtea vero quam in Aſia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii & Athenienſes cœpere urbes atque nationes ſubigere; lubidinem dominandi cauſam belli habere; maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare: tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum eſt, in bello plurimum ingenium poſſe. Quod ſi regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, ut in bello, valeret: æquabilius atque conſtantius ſeſe res humanæ haberent: neque aliud

*and beauty yield, is fading and frail; but virtue is thought to give an everlaſting luſtre. Yet it has been a long time a matter of no ſmall debate amongſt men, whether ſucceſs in war has more depended upon ſtrength of body, or the abilities of the mind. For enterprizes of that kind ought not to be undertaken but upon previous deliberation, and when reſolved upon, ought vigorouſly to be put in execution. Thus whilſt neither of theſe things is of itſelf ſufficient; they ſucceed by the mutual aid of each other.*

*II. Wherefore in the early ages of the world, Kings (for monarchy ſeems to have been the firſt kind of government amongſt men) ſome of them laboured the improvement of their minds, and others of their bodies. At that time indeed mankind were ſtrangers to covetouſneſs, every one being content with his own. But after Cyrus in Aſia, and in Greece the Athenians and Lacedemonians, begun to conquer cities and whole nations, and to look upon the luſt of dominion as a ſufficient ground of war, and to reckon the greateſt glory to conſiſt in the large extent of their conqueſts; then it was found by experience, that an able head was the moſt ſerviceable in war. And if the great abilities of Kings and Commanders produced but as good effects in peace as in war, the affairs of mankind would be in a much more calm and ſettled ſtate. Nor ſhould we ſee ſuch hurly-burly, ſuch diſtraction and confuſion ſpread over the face of the earth.*

aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac miſceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum eſt. Verum, ubi pro labore deſidia, pro continentia & æquitate lubido atque ſuperbia invaſere, fortuna ſimul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium ſemper ad optumum quemque ab minus bono transfertur. Quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque ſomno, indocti, incultique, vitam ſicuti peregrinantes tranſiere: quibus profecto, contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æſtumo; quoniam de utraque ſiletur. Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere, & frui anima videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærit. Sed in magna copia rerum, aliud alii natura iter oſtendit.

*For dominion is eaſily ſecured by the ſame arts by which it was firſt acquired. But when idleneſs has ſucceeded in the place of induſtry, and inſtead of moderation and equity, luſt and pride prevail, then the fortune of a people changes with their manners. And thus power is ever ſhifting about from the worſe to the better part of men; and the advantages of plowing, ſailing, and building, become the perquiſites of virtue. But a great many men who minded nothing but eating and ſleeping, illiterate and unpoliſhed, have ſpent their days like ſtrangers in the world, whoſe happineſs, contrary to nature, lay in pampering their bodies, whilſt their ſouls were a burthen to them. The life and death of ſuch as theſe I reckon much the ſame, ſince no notice is taken of either. But he indeed appears to me to be truly alive, and to enjoy life, who is engaged in ſome uſeful employment, and endeavours to acquire fame by noble actions, or the practice of ſome commendable art. But in the midſt of plenty for that purpoſe, nature has pointed out to different men different ways.*

III. Pulchrum eſt bene facere reipublicæ: etiam bene dicere haud abſurdum eſt. Vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet. Et qui fecere, & qui facta aliorum ſcripſere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametſi haudquam

*III. It is a glorious thing to be ſerviceable to the ſtate; and eloquence is no deſpicable talent. A man may make himſelf famous in peace or in war. Many, as well thoſe that have performed great actions, as thoſe that have given us the hiſtory thereof, are highly applauded. And though I cannot*

quam par gloria ſequatur ſcriptorem & auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res geſtas ſcribere: primum, quod facta dictis exæquanda ſunt; dein, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia & invidia dicta putant. Ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quæ ſibi quiſque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit: ſupra, veluti ficta pro falſis ducit. Sed ego adoleſcentulus initio, ſicuti plerique, ſtudio ad rempublicam latus ſum: ibique mihi multa advorſa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abſtinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quæ tametſi animus aſpernabatur, inſolens malarum artium; tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur. Ac me, cum ab reliquis malis moribus diſſentirem, nihilominus honoris cupido eadem, quæ cæteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis miſeriis atque periculis requievit, & mihi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendam decrevi; non fuit conſilium

*indeed ſay, that the hiſtorian and the hero are entitled to the ſame ſhare of glory; yet it appears to me a matter of no ſmall difficulty to write hiſtory well. Firſt, becauſe in the relation of noble actions the ſtyle muſt be ſuited to the grandeur of the ſubject; and in the next place, becauſe moſt readers are apt to look upon the cenſure of any miſcarriages as proceeding from ill-nature and envy. And in accounts of the gallant behaviour and glorious atchievments of worthy men, ſuch things as any one looks upon to have no great difficulty in them, he can read with patience, as credible; but all beyond he treats as mere fiction, and utterly falſe. When I was a young man, I was, like moſt other gentlemen, very inclinable to engage in the ſervice of the ſtate, but every where found great difficulties in the way of ſuch my deſign; for inſtead of modeſty, juſtice, and virtue, impudence, bribery, and avarice carried all before them. Which though I had an abhorrence of, as having never been accuſtomed to ſuch vile practices, yet thoſe being now become the faſhion of the times, my unexperienced youth expoſed me to be caught by the baits of ambition. And though I did not fall entirely in with a vicious age in other reſpects, yet I had the ſame ſpirit of ambition and envy in me as others had.*

*IV. Being at laſt happily delivered from a world of vexation and danger, and reſolved no more to meddle in ſtate-affairs, I was not, however, minded to ſpend my days in idleneſs and ſloth, or to*

ſocor-

ocordia atque deſidia bonum otium conterere: neque vero, agrum colendo, aut venando, ſervilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere: ſed a quo incœpto ſtudioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regreſſus ſtatui res geſtas populi Romani ſtrictim, uti quæque memoria digna videbantur, perſcribere: eo magis, quod mihi a ſpe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quam veriſſime potero, paucis abſolvam. Nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile exiſtumo, ſceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda ſunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. Lucius Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi & animi & corporis, ſed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adoleſcentia bella inteſtina, cædes, rapinæ, diſcordia civilis, grata fuere; ibique juventutem ſuam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ ſupra quam cuiquam credible eſt. Animus audax, ſubdolus, varius, cujuſlibet rei ſimulator ac diſſimulator, alieni appetens, ſui profuſus, ardens in cupiditatibus: ſatis loquentiæ,

*employ my life in agriculture, hunting, or the like ſervile offices; but immediately reſumed the purſuit of my former deſign, from which wicked ambition had diverted me, and determined to ſet about writing the hiſtory of the Roman people, ſuch parts of it, I mean, as appeared to me moſt worthy of the notice of poſterity; and the rather, becauſe my mind was not at all influenced by hope, fear, or party-prejudice. Accordingly, I ſhall in the firſt place give a brief account of Catiline's conſpiracy, and that with all poſſible regard to truth. For I look upon that deſign to have been one of the moſt memorable that ever were, for the ſtrange wickedneſs and danger of it. Which I ſhall begin with a ſhort character of the man.*

*V. Lucius Catiline was deſcended of a noble family, and endowed with an extraordinary vigour both of body and mind, but of a wicked perverſe diſpoſition. Who had from his youth nothing ſo much at heart as civil war, rapine, and embroiling of the ſtate; in which he ſpent the prime of his years. His body was incredibly qualified for the enduring of hunger, want of ſleep, and cold. His mind was daring, crafty, fickle, capable of the moſt profound diſſimulation, and of acting any part whatever; greedy of what was not his own, and laviſh of what was; extremely eager*

ſapientiæ parum. Vaſtus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta ſemper cupiebat. Hunc, poſt dominationem L. Sullæ, lubido maxuma invaſerat reipublicæ capiundæ: neque id quibus modis adſequeretur, dum ſibi regnum pararet, quidquam penſi habebat. Agitabatur magis magiſque indies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris, & conſcientia ſcelerum: quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas ſupra memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores: quos peſſuma ac diverſa inter ſe mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipſa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, ſupra repetere, ac paucis inſtituta majorum domi militiæque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint; &, ut paulatim immutata, ex pulcherrima & optuma peſſuma ac flagitioſiſſuma facta ſit, differere.

VI. Urbem Romam, ſicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani; qui, Ænea duce, profugi, ſedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreſte, ſine legibus, ſine imperio, liberum, atque ſolutum. Hi,

*in the gratification of his deſires; eloquence enough he had, but little wiſdom. His wild ſoul was ever engaged in the moſt extravagant projects, things unattainable, and above his ſphere. After the tyranny of Sulla, he became paſſionately fond of ſeizing the government; and, provided he could but bring his purpoſe about, he cared not at all by what means he did it. His ſavage ſoul was more and more agitated with his poverty, and a ſenſe of guilt, both which he had increaſed by the vile practices above mentioned. He was moreover encouraged in his enterprize by the wickedneſs of the times, the city being ſadly overrun with two of the worſt, but very different ſorts of vices, luxury and avarice. And ſince I am got upon this ſubject, it may not perhaps be an improper occaſion of running back into the early ages of the Roman people, to give an account of the conduct of our anceſtors, how they managed their affairs both in peace and war, and to what a height they brought the Roman ſtate, how by degrees it has been changed, and of the moſt glorious and beſt is become the worſt and moſt flagitious.*

*VI. The city Rome, as far as I can find, was built and firſt inhabited by the Trojans, who being obliged to fly from their native country ſtrolled about from place to place, under the leading of Æneas. But with them were joined the Aborigines, a wild ſort of people, under no reſtraint from law or government at all. How-*

poſt-

poſtquam in una mœnia convenere, diſpari genere, diſſimili lingua, alius alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu eſt, quam facile coaluerint. Sed poſtquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, ſatis proſpera, ſatiſque pollens videbatur; ſicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta eſt. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare. Pauci ex amicis auxilio eſſe. Nam cæteri, metu perculſi, a periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiæque intenti, feſtinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hoſtibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parenteſque armis tegere. Poſt, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, ſociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magiſque dandis, quam accipiundis, beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant. Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium ſapientia validum erat, reipublicæ conſultabant. Hi, vel ætate vel curæ ſimilitudine, *Patres* appellabantur. Poſt, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conſervandæ libertatis atque augendæ reipublicæ fuerat, in ſuperbiam dominationemque

*ever, upon their uniting and cohabiting in the ſame city, notwithſtanding the wide difference betwixt them, with reſpect to their language, and manner of life, yet it is incredible to ſay, how eaſily they became one people. But after this new ſtate received ſuch an improvement in number of people, manners, and territory, as to appear in a proſperous and vigorous condition, their happy circumſtances, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, drew down the envy of their neighbours upon them. Accordingly the neighbouring princes and ſtates preſently engaged in war againſt them; wherein ſome few of their friends ſtood by them, whilſt the reſt, for fear of the worſt, kept themſelves out of danger. The Romans, however, were not wanting in their endeavours, both at home and abroad, for a vigorous defence; but animated by mutual encouragements, boldly faced their enemy for the ſecurity of their liberty, country, and parents. And after they had by their bravery repelled the dangers that threatened them, gave in their turn aſſiſtance to their allies and friends; and added to the number of them, more by the conferring of favours, than the receiving of them. Their government was a legal one, under the name of a monarchy. Perſons weak of body by reaſon of their age, but eminent for their wiſdom and abilities of mind, were appointed as a council of ſtate, to provide for the publick ſecurity; who from their age, or their obligation to a paternal concern for the good of the common-*

con-

convertit, immutato more, annua imperia, binos imperatores ſibi fecere. Eo modo minume poſſe putabant per licentiam inſoleſcere animum humanum.

*wealth, were called* Fathers. *But when kingly government, which at firſt proved a means of preſerving their liberty, and advancing the publick intereſt, degenerated into haughtineſs and tyranny, it was laid aſide, and in room thereof, two magiſtrates were yearly appointed to govern the ſtate. For this they thought the moſt likely means to prevent a licentious inſolence in their governors.*

VII. Sed ea tempeſtate cœpere ſe quiſque magis magiſque extollere, ingeniumque in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni, quam mali, ſuſpectiores ſunt; ſemperque his aliena virtus formidoloſa eſt. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu eſt, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit : tanta cupido gloriæ inceſſerat. Jamprimum juventus, ſimul ac belli patiens erat, in caſtris per laborem uſu militiam diſcebat; magiſque in decoris armis & militaribus equis, quam in ſcortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebat. Igitur talibus viris non labos inſolitus, non locus ullus aſper aut arduus erat, non armatus hoſtis formidoloſus : virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipſos erat. Quiſque hoſtem ferire, murum aſcendere, conſpici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam famam,

VII. *Now every one began to exert himſelf, and employ all his faculties, for the publick ſervice. For under kings, perſons of worth and merit are more apt to be looked upon with a jealous eye, than thoſe of a contrary character. For princes are ever appprehenſive of great abilities in their ſubjects. But after the Roman ſtate had thus recovered its liberty, it is incredible to ſay, what a mighty improvement it preſently received; ſuch an appetite for glory had now prevailed amongſt that people. Now the youth, as ſoon as capable of bearing arms, were trained up in the fatigues of a camp, to the buſineſs of war. Handſome arms, and fine war-horſes, were much more their concern, than the practice of lewdneſs and luxury. To ſuch men as theſe hardſhip was no novelty, no place too rugged or difficult, no enemy was terrible, their reſolution bore down all before it. But at the ſame time there was the higheſt emulation amongſt them in point of glory; every one being zealous to diſtinguiſh himſelf in fight, or the ſcaling of walls, in the view of his fellow-ſoldiers. This was their riches, their glory, and what*

ıam, magnamque nobi-
ilitatem putabant. Lau-
is avidi, pecuniæ libera-
:s erant. Gloriam in-
entem, divitias honeſtas
olebant. Memorare poſ-
:m, quibus in locis max-
mas hoſtium copias po-
ulus Romanus parva ma-
u fuderit, quas urbes na-
ıra munitas pugnando ce-
:rit ; ni ea res longius
ɔs ab incœpto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto for-
ına in omni re domina-
ır. Ea res cunctas, ex
ıbidine magis, quam ex
:ro, celebrat obſcurat-
ıe. Athenienſium res
:ſtæ, ſicut ego exiſtu-
o, ſatis amplæ magni-
:æque fuere : verum
iquanto minores tamen,
ıam fama feruntur. Sed
ıia provenere ibi magna
riptorum ingenia, per
:rrarum orbem Atheni-
ıſium facta pro maxu-
ıis celebrantur. Ita eo-
ım, qui ea fecere, vir-
ıs tanta habetur, quan-
ım verbis ea potuere ex-
ɔllere præclara ingenia.
ıt populo Romano num-
uam ea copia fuit : quia
rudentiſſimus quiſque ne-
otioſus maxume erat.
ngenium nemo ſine cor-
ore exercebat. Optu-
ıus quiſque facere, quam
icere ; ſua ab aliis bene
ıcta laudari, quam ipſe
liorum narrare, malebat.

*alone ennobled them, in their opinion. They were greedy of honour, but laviſh of their money. Glory they could never have too much of, but for riches a handſome competency ſufficed them. And here I could entertain the reader with numerous inſtances of mighty armies defeated by inconſiderable numbers, and cities wonderfully fortified by nature taken by them. But that would detain me too long from my purpoſe.*

VIII. *But fortune has indeed a mighty ſway in all things ; raiſes or depreſſes them at pleaſure, rather than according to truth. The actions of the Athenians were, in my opinion, great and glorious enough, but not altogether ſo conſiderable as fame repreſents them. But becauſe that city produced great plenty of fine authors, the exploits of that people are throughout the world celebrated for the greateſt that ever were performed by men. Accordingly the courage and conduct of the actors have been as much magnified as it was in the power of the fineſt wits to do it. But this was an advantage the Roman people never had, becauſe the wiſeſt men were always the moſt engaged in the ſervice of the ſtate ; for none purſued the improvement of the mind only, without regard to that of the body. The beſt men choſe rather the part of acting than ſpeaking ; and to have their own atchievements celebrated by others, rather than write thoſe of others themſelves.*

IX. Igi-

IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur. Concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat. Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis, quam natura, valebat. Jurgia, diſcordias, ſimultates cum hoſtibus exercebant. Cives cum civibus de virtute certabant. In ſuppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia bello, ubi pax evenerat, æquitate, ſeque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta hæc habeo; quod in bello ſæpius vindicatum eſt in eos, qui contra imperium in hoſtem pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati prælio exceſſerant, quam qui ſigna relinquere, aut pulſi, loco cedere auſi erant. In pace vero, beneficiis magis, quam metu, imperium agitabant; & accepta injuria, ignoſcere quam perſequi, malebant.

XI. *Good manners therefore were practiſed both at home and abroad, in the wars. Their unanimity was great, but deſires very moderate. Juſtice and equity prevailed amongſt them, not more by the force of laws, than natural inclination. All the differences and quarrels they had were with the enemies of the ſtate. But one with another they had no other conteſt, than who ſhould behave beſt. In the worſhip of the gods they were magnificent, but thrifty at home, and faithful to their friends. And by the practice of bravery in war, and equity in peace, did they manage themſelves and the publick affairs. Of which theſe things are ſufficient proofs, that ſuch as fought the enemy contrary to orders, or kept the field after ſounding a retreat, were ofter puniſhed, than ſuch as deſerted, or in time of action quitted their poſts. But in peace the adminiſtration was managed more in the way of kindneſs than terror: and in caſe of an injury received, they choſe rather to forgive, than revenge it.*

X. Sed, ubi labore atque juſtitia reſpublica crevit; reges magni bello domiti; nationes feræ, & populi ingentes vi ſubacti; Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab ſtirpe interiit; cuncta maria terræque patebant; fortuna ſævire ac miſcere omnia cœpit. Qui labores,

X. *But when, by the practice of induſtry and juſtice, the Roman ſtate was come to a conſiderable height, great princes conquered, wild nations and mighty ſtates brought under ſubjection by dint of arms, and Carthage, that was rival with Rome for the empire of the world, utterly deſtroyed; and all parts of it, whether by ſea or by land, at the devotion of the*

peri-

pericula, dubias atque aſperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiæ, optandæ aliis, oneri miſeriæque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniæ, dein imperii cupido crevit. Ea quaſi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæteraſque artis bonas ſubvertit; pro his ſuperbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falſos fieri ſubegit; aliud clauſum in pectore, aliud promptum in lingua habere; amicitias inimicitiaſque non ex re, ſed ex commodo, æſtumare; magiſque vultum, quam ingenium, bonum habere. Hæc primo paullatim creſcere, interdum vindicari. Poſt, ubi contagio, quaſi peſtilentia, invaſit; civitas immutata, imperium, ex juſtiſſimo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium propius virtuti erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus, æque ſibi exoptant. Sed ille vera via nititur: huic quia bonæ artes deſunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ ſtudium

*Romans; fortune began to ſhew her malice, and confound all. For they who had endured fatigues, dangers, and the moſt ſevere trials, with eaſe, found peace and plenty, deſirable things with the reſt of men, to be their bane. Firſt the love of money, and then of power, grew upon them, and proved the occaſion of all manner of miſchief. For avarice was the deſtruction of faith, honeſty, and other good qualities; and in the room thereof brought in faſhion, pride, cruelty, profaneneſs, and a mercenary ſpirit. Ambition obliged many to breach of faith, and to have one thing in their hearts, and another upon their tongues; to contract or break friendſhip, not as honour, but their intereſt required; and to ſeem good, rather than be really ſo. Theſe vices grew up but ſlowly for ſome time, and were now and then puniſhed. But the infection at laſt carrying all before it like the plague, the ſtate was hugely altered, and the government, from being the moſt juſt, and the beſt that ever was, became cruel and intolerable.*

XI. *But at firſt ambition more than avarice influenced the minds of the Romans: which vice, however, had ſome reſemblance of a virtue. For the brave, and the baſe-ſpirited, are equally fond of glory, honour, and power. But the former purſues them in the right way; whereas the latter, as deſtitute of all good qualities, endeavours to come at them in the way of trick and deceit. Avarice*

ſtudium habet; quam nemo ſapiens concupivit. Ea, quaſi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: ſemper infinita, inſatiabilis eſt; neque copia, neque inopia, minuitur. Sed poſtquam L. Sulla, armis recepta republica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere. Domum alius, alius agros cupere; neque modum neque modeſtiam victores habere; fœda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Aſia ductaverat, quo ſibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxurioſe nimiſque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amœna, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum inſuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; ſigna, tabulas pictas, vaſa cœlata mirari; ea privatim ac publice rapere; delubra ſpoliare; ſacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, poſtquam victoriam adepti ſunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe ſecundæ res ſapientium animos fatigant: nedum illi, corruptis moribus,

*is nothing but an extravagant deſire of money, which no wiſe man was ever fond of. And this paſſion, as if it was enforced by the power of enchantment, enervates both the bodies and ſouls of men, is ever boundleſs and inſatiable, not to be reduced by either plenty or want. But after Lucius Sylla ſeized upon the government by force of arms, and though he began well, yet run into great outrages, rapine and violence prevailed univerſally. The conquerors, one ſet his heart upon a fine houſe, another upon lands, and in the proſecution of their ſeveral deſires, had not the leaſt tincture of moderation or modeſty at all, but practiſed all the moſt abominable exceſſes of cruelty upon their fellow-citizens. Beſides this, L. Sylla, in order to engage the army he had commanded in Aſia to ſtand by him, did, contrary to the uſage of our anceſtors, ſlacken the reins of diſcipline in the way of indulgence and profuſion, to a great exceſs. And the pleaſant voluptuous country of Aſia had, after the war was ended there, ſtrangely ſoftened the rugged minds of the ſoldiery. There firſt of all did the Roman troops contract a paſſion for whoring and drinking, ſtatues, pictures, and fine-wrought plate, which they publickly and privately made plunder of, robbing the temples of the gods, and ſparing no places whatever, whether ſacred or profane. For thoſe ſoldiers, after their conqueſt in thoſe parts, left the conquered nothing at all. Succeſs indeed makes a ſtrong impreſſion upon*

ribus, victoriæ temperarent.

XII. Poſtquam divitiæ honori eſſe cœperunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia ſequebatur: hebeſcere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum ſuperbia invaſere. Rapere, conſumere; ſua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiſcua, nihil penſi neque moderati habere. Operæ pretium eſt, cum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, viſere templa deorum, quæ noſtri majores, religioſiſſumi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos ſuas gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam præter injuriæ licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contra, ignaviſſumi homines, per ſummum ſcelus omnia ea ſociis adimere, quæ fortiſſumi viri victores hoſtibus reliquerant: proinde quaſi injuriam facere, id demum eſſet imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ, niſi his qui

*the minds of wiſe men, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if an army ſo corrupted by ill diſcipline, ſhould make ſo bad a uſe of their conqueſt.*

XII. *When riches now began to be in ſuch vaſt eſteem, and to be attended with glory, command, and power; virtue began to languiſh, poverty to be accounted matter of reproach, and innocence to paſs for ill-nature. Hereupon our youth became infected with luxury, avarice, and pride, all together. They now ravaged and waſted all before them, and never ſatisfied with what was their own, were ever longing for what was not; trampled upon modeſty, friendſhip, chaſtity, and every thing elſe, divine or human, without diſtinction; and throwing off all reſtraint, had not the leaſt care or concern for any thing that was good. It is worth while to take a view of the fine houſes in town and country, and then to viſit the temples of the gods, built by our forefathers, the moſt religious of mankind. But they graced the temples of the gods with their piety, and their houſes with glory; and took nothing from thoſe they conquered, but the licence of doing miſchief. But thoſe I ſpoke of above, the moſt worthleſs of men, have in the moſt wicked manner raviſhed from our allies all the brave old conquerors would have left to their vanquiſhed enemies; as if the uſe of power conſiſted in the doing of miſchief.*

XIII. *For why ſhould I ſpend time in the relation of things,*

qui videre, nemini credibilia ſunt; a privatis compluribus ſubverſos montis, maria conſtrata eſſe? Quibus mihi ludibrio videntur fuiſſe divitiæ; quippe, quas honeſte habere licebat, per turpitudinem abuti properabant. Sed lubido ſtupri, ganeæ, cæterique cultus non minor inceſſerat. Viri pati muliebria: mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere: veſcendi cauſa terra marique omnia exquirere: dormire prius, quam ſomni cupido eſſet: non famem aut ſitim, neque frigus neque laſſitudinem opperiri, ſed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus, haud facile lubidinibus carebat: eo profuſius omnibus modis quæſtui atque ſumptui deditus erat.

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillumum erat, omnium flagitioſorum atque facinoroſorum circum ſe, tamquam ſtipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicunque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, alea, manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum æs grande conflaverat,

*which can appear credible to no one that has not ſeen them; as the levelling of mountains, building fine palaces in the ſea itſelf, by many private perſons? who ſeemed to play with their riches, in the way of bantering, as it were, and abuſing them in the moſt ſcandalous manner, when they might have enjoyed them with honour. Nor were they leſs extravagant in their amours, and all the articles of furniture and equipage: the men and women were guilty of the moſt barefaced proſtitution. Sea and land were ranſacked to furniſh out their tables with dainties. And the natural return of ſleep, hunger, and thirſt, were anticipated by a luxurious indulgence. The practice of theſe vices firſt reduced the youth of Rome to want, and then puſhed them upon all manner of villainy. The mind being once inured to thoſe vile practices, knew not how to forego the gratification of its luſts, and ſo was the more violently bent upon all the ways of both getting and ſpending.*

XIV. *In ſo great and ſo wicked a city, Cataline, as was no hard matter to be ſure, had troops of flagitious, profligate fellows, like ſo many life-guard men, always about him. For all your catamites, cuckold-makers, rakes, that had ſpent their eſtates in all the ways of luxury and lewdneſs, all ſuch as had run over head and ears in debt, to ſcreen themſelves from the puniſhments due to their crimes: parricides beſides from all quar-*

at, quo flagitium aut fa-
inus redimeret; præte-
ea, omnes undique par-
icidæ, ſacrilegi, convic-
i judiciis, aut pro factis
ıdicium timentes; ad
oc, quos manus atque
ngua perjurio & ſangui-
e civili alebat; poſtre-
ıo, omnes, quos flagi-
um, egeſtas, conſcius
ıimus exagitabat; hi Ca-
linæ proxumi familia-
ſque erant. Quod ſi
ıis etiam a culpa vacuus
ı amicitiam ejus incide-
ıt; quotidiano uſu atque
ecebris facile par ſimi-
que cæteris efficieba-
r. Sed maxume ado-
ſcentium familiaritates
petebat. Eorum ani-
i molles & ætate fluxi,
lis haud difficulter capi-
antur. Nam, uti cu-
ſque ſtudium ex ætate
grabat, aliis ſcorta præ-
re, aliis canes atque e-
os mercari: poſtremo
que ſumptui neque mo-
ſtiæ ſuæ parcere, dum
os obnoxios fidoſque
i faceret. Scio fuiſſe
nnullos, quia ita exi-
ımarent; juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequenta-
t, parum honeſte pudicitiam habuiſſe. Sed ex aliis rebus
agis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama
lebat.

*ters, ſacrilegious raſcals, ſuch as had been already legally convicted of horrid villainies, or feared ſo to be; and further, all ſuch as maintained themſelves by perjury or murder; finally, all whom wickedneſs, want, or a guilty conſcience made uneaſy; theſe were Catiline's neareſt and moſt intimate friends. And if any innocent perſon happened to be engaged in any friendſhip with him, by daily converſation and wheedling, he was ſoon made like the reſt of the crew. But thoſe he chiefly affected to draw into his party were young gentlemen. Their minds being, by reaſon of their age, ſoft and pliable, were eaſily cajoled. For, according to their ſeveral inclinations, ſome he furniſhed with whores, for others he would buy dogs and horſes. Finally, he ſtuck at no coſt, or breach of modeſty, whatever to get them into his power, and ſecure them to his intereſt. I am ſenſible, ſome people were of opinion, that the youth that frequented Catiline's houſe were engaged in unnatural lewdneſs; but this fancy proceeded, I ſuppoſe, not ſo much from any certain evidence of the thing, as other reaſons.*

XV. Jamprimum a-
leſcens Catilina multa
fanda ſtupra fecerat,
m virgine nobili, cum
erdote Veſtæ; & alia
juſcemodi contra jus

XV. *Catiline himſelf, when a young fellow, had been engaged in ſeveral villainous intrigues with a young lady of high quality, one of the Veſtal nuns, and many other the like abominable pranks. At*

faſque. Poſtremo, captus amore Aureliæ Oreſtillæ, cujus præter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adultum ætate; pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuam domum ſceleſtis nuptiis feciſſe. Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur cauſſa fuiſſe facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibuſque infeſtus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus ſedari poterat: ita conſcientia mentem excitam vexabat. Igitur color ei exſanguis, fœdi oculi; citus modo, modo tardus inceſſus; prorſus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut ſupra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat, ex illis teſtis ſignatoreſque falſos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere. Poſt, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat. Si cauſſa peccandi in preſens minus ſuppetebat; nihilominus inſontes, ſicuti ſontes, circumvenire, jugulare. Scilicet, ne per otium torpeſcerent manus, aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis

*laſt he fell in love with Aurelia Oreſtilla, in whom no good man ever commended any thing but her beauty; and becauſe ſhe made a ſcruple of marrying him, by reaſon his ſon was at man's eſtate, it is believed for a certainty, he murdered him, to make way for ſo wicked a match. Which, indeed, I believe, might be the reaſon of his puſhing his enterprize with ſo much violence as he did. For his polluted ſoul, fired with rage gainſt both gods and men, could find no reſt either waking or ſleeping; ſo much was he haunted with the terrors of an evil conſcience. Accordingly his complexion was very pale, his eyes ghaſtly, his gait ſometimes quick, ſometimes ſlow: in ſhort, his whole appearance was perfectly that of a madman.*

XVI. *Now the young men h wheedled in to join him, as hat been above ſaid, he trained up t villainy by various ways; fro amongſt them he uſed to furniſ falſe witneſſes, and others to ſig forged deeds, teaching them b that means to ſet light by the honour, eſtates, and danger. An after he had utterly ſuppreſſed i them all regard to credit or ſham he put them upon greater project And if no preſent opportunity pr ſented for the exerciſe of the talent, yet he kept them doing, employing them to circumvent a murder ſuch as had given him offence, as if they had; that i to keep their hands and minds uſe, he was wicked and cru*

ſociiſq

›ciiſque confiſus Catilina, mul quod æs alienum er omnis terras ingens rat, & quod plerique ullani milites, largius 10 uſi, rapinarum et vic- oriæ veteris memores, ivile bellum exoptabant, pprimundæ reipublicæ onſilium cepit. In Ita- a nullus exercitus: Cn. 'ompeius in extremis erris bellum gerebat; ip- conſulatum petundi nagna ſpes; ſenatus ni- il ſane intentus; tutæ ranquillæque res omnes. ed ea prorſus opportuna Catilinæ.

*without any provocation ſo to be. Catiline confiding in theſe friends and accomplices, and becauſe the number of perſons involved in debt was every where very great, and becauſe too moſt of Sylla's old ſoldiers, having made an end of what they had gotten, and remembering full well the plunder they had made upon Sylla's ſucceſs, wiſhed for a civil war; Catiline. I ſay, putting theſe ſeveral things together, entered into a deſign of uſurping the government. There was no army in Italy; Cn. Pompey was carrying on a war in the remoteſt parts of the earth: he himſelf had great hopes of obtaining the conſulſhip; the ſenate appeared very ſecure; and all was ſafe and quiet; which ſeveral things ſeemed to preſent Catiline with a favourable opportunity of carrying his point.*

XVII. Igitur circiter calendas Jan. L. Cæſa- e & C. Figulo conſuli- ›us, primo ſingulos ap- ›ellare: hortari alios, ali- ›s tentare; opes ſuas, mparatam rempublicam, nagna præmia conjurati- ›nis docere. Ubi ſatis ex- ›lorata ſunt, quæ voluit; n unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma neceſſi- udo & plurimum auda- ciæ inerat. Eo conve- nere ſenatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. An- onius, L. Caſſius Lon- ginus, C. Cethegus, P. & Ser. Sullæ Servii filii L. Varguntejus, Qu. An- nius, M. Porcius Læcca, L. Buſtia, Q. Curius:

XVII. *Wherefore about the firſt of January, in the year of the conſulſhip of L. Cæſar and C. Figulus, he applies himſelf to his aſſociates ſeparately firſt; ſome he encouraged, others he tried; he acquaints them with his ſtrength, how little the government was provided to oppoſe him, and what vaſt advantages they might promiſe themſelves from the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy. After he had ſufficiently ſifted them with relation to his deſign, he draws together ſuch of them as were under the greateſt difficulties, and appeared the moſt daring. Upon that occaſion aſſembled of the ſenatorian rank, Publius Lentuins Sura, Publius Antonius, Lucius Caſſius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius the ſons of Sylla Ser-*

præterea, ex equeſtri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc, multi ex coloniis & municipiis domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paullo occultius conſilii hujuſce participes nobiles; quos magis dominationis ſpes hortabatur, quam inopia aut alia neceſſitudo. Cæterum juventus pleraque, ſed maxume nobilium, Catilinæ incœptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item ea tempeſtate, qui crederent M. Licinium Craſſum non ignarum ejus conſilii fuiſſe: quia Cnejus Pompejus, inviſus ipſi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujuſvis opes voluiſſe contra illius potentiam creſcere: ſimul confiſum, ſi conjuratio valuiſſet, facile apud illos principem ſe fore. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci, in quibus Catilina. De quo, quam veriſſume potero, dicam.

*vius, Lucius Varguntejus, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Læcca, Lucius Beſtia, Quintus Curius; and beſides theſe, of equeſtrian rank, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, Caius Cornelius; and over and above this company, many from the colonies and borough-towns nobly deſcended there. There were likewiſe a good many noblemen, who under-hand countenanced the deſign, whom the hopes of power, more than want, or any other neceſſity, engaged therein. But moſt of the youth, eſpecially amongſt the nobility, favoured Catiline's undertaking; who might have lived in great quiet, ſplendidly, and pleaſantly: but they choſe rather uncertainties for things certain, and war rather than peace. There were ſome too at that time, who did really believe, that Mark Craſſus was not unacquainted with the deſign; becauſe Cn. Pompey, whom he mortally hated, commanded a great army, to reduce whoſe power he was ready to raiſe any one whatever; but hoped too, if the conſpiracy ſucceeded, to have the chief ſway. But before this time, ſome few gentlemen had entered into a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, of which Catiline was one, concerning which I ſhall here give as true an account as I can.*

XVIII. L. Tullio, M. Lepido coſſ. P. Autronius & P. Sulla, deſignati conſules, legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant. Poſt paullo Catilina,

XVIII. *In the conſulſhip of Lucius Tullus and Mark Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sulla conſuls elect, had been proſecuted for bribery, and puniſhed. Some little time after, Catiline*

a, pecuniarum repetunarum reus, prohibitus rat petere conſulatum ; uod intra legitimos dies rofiteri nequiverit. Erat odem tempore Cn. Piſo, doleſcens nobilis, ſumæ audaciæ, egens, facioſus ; quem ad perturandam rempublicam inpia atque mali mores imulabant. Cum hoc 'atilina & Autronius, irciter nonas Decembr. onſilio communicato, arabant in capitolio kaendis Januar. L. Cotum & L. Torquatum oſſ. interficere ; ipſi, faſibus correptis, Piſonem um exercitu ad obtinenas duas Hiſpanias mitere. Ea re cognita, rurs in nonas Februar. onſilium cædis tranſtuerunt. Jam tum non onſulibus modo, ſed pleiſque ſenatoribus, perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina matuaſſet pro curia ſignum ociis dare ; eo die, poſt onditam urbem Romam, eſſumum facinus patraum foret. Quia nondum requentes armati conveerant ; ea res conſilium liremit.

XIX. Poſtea Piſo in citeriorem Hiſpaniam quæſtor pro prætore miſſus eſt, adnitente Craſſo ; quod eum infeſtum Cn. Pompejo cognoverat.

*being likewiſe proſecuted for extortion, was not allowed to ſtand candidate for the conſulſhip, becauſe he could not enter his name for that purpoſe, within the time limited by law. There was at that time Cn. Piſo, a noble youth, of great boldneſs, poverty, and a factious ſpirit.: whom vice and want together excited to diſturb the government. With him Catiline and Autronius entering into a cabal, about the nones of December, came to a reſolution of aſſaſſinating, the firſt of January following, the conſuls Luke Cotta and Luke Torquatus ; whereupon they were to ſeize the conſulſhip, and ſend Piſo with an army to be governor of the two Spains. But the plot being diſcovered they deferred the intended murder to the nones of February. And now they propoſed not only to take off the conſuls, but moſt of the ſenators too. And had not Catiline been too haſty in giving the ſignal for that purpoſe before the ſenate-houſe, that day would have been executed the horrideſt villainy that had ever been perpetrated from the building of Rome to that time. But as there was no great appearance of the conſpirators, that prevented the execution of their deſign.*

XIX. *Afterwards Piſo was ſent Quæſtor, but with the authority of Prætor, into Spain, by the intereſt of Craſſus, becauſe he knew him to be a bitter enemy of Cn. Pompey, the ſenate not*

Neque tamen ſenatus provinciam invitus dederat. Quippe fœdum hominem a republica procul abeſſe volebat : ſimul, quia boni complures præſidium in eo putabant, & jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeji formidoloſa erat. Sed is Piſo, in provinciam, ab equitibus Hiſpanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens, occiſus eſt. Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia ejus injuſta, ſuperba, crudelia barbaros nequiviſſe pati. Alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeji veteres fidoſque clientes, voluntate ejus Piſonem aggreſſos : numquam Hiſpanos præterea tale facinus feciſſe ; ſed imperia ſæva multa antea perpeſſos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquimus. De ſuperiori conjuratione ſatis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, conveniſſe videt, tametſi cum ſingulis multa ſæpe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens univerſos appellare & cohortari, in abditam partem ædium ſeceſſit, atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuſcemodi habuit. *Ni virtus fideſque veſtra ſatis ſpectata mihi foret, nequicquam opportuna res cecidiſſet ; ſpes magna, domi-*

*being averſe to the thing, in order to get rid of ſo troubleſome a fellow, as alſo becauſe a great many honeſt men thought good uſe might be made of him, in oppoſition to the power of Pompey, which was now become formidable. But Piſo was in his march for Spain, aſſaſſinated by ſome Spaniſh horſe he had in his army. The reaſon whereof, ſome ſay, was his unjuſt, haughty, cruel behaviour in his command, which the barbarians were not able to endure. But others will have it, that thoſe horſe were ſome old truſty clients of Cn. Pompey's, and took off Piſo by his encouragement. For the Spaniards had never been guilty of any thing like that before, but had borne the cruelty of ſeveral other governors with patience. We ſhall leave the matter undetermined. And ſo much for that conſpiracy.*

XX. *When Catiline ſaw his company above mentioned aſſembled, though he had before had much conference with them ſingly and ſeparately, yet judging it proper to ſpeak to them all together, and encourage them to the work, he retired with them into a private part of his houſe, where he addreſſed them in the following harangue.* If your virtue and honour were not ſufficiently known to me, a moſt lucky opportunity for our intended project would have preſented itſelf in vain ; vaſt hopes and dominion would have

natio

*ıtio in manibus fruſ-ra fuiſſe : neque per ;naviam aut vana inge-ia, incerta pro certis aptarem. Sed, quia mul-is & magnis tempeſtati-us vos cognovi fortis fi-'oſque mihi, eo animus uſus eſt maximum atque ulcherrimum facinus in-ipere, ſimul, quia vobis adem, quæ mihi, bona nalaque eſſe intellexi. Nam idem velle atque dem nolle, ea demum fir-na amicitia eſt. Sed, ego quæ mente agitavi, om-nes jam antea diviſi au-diſtis. Cæterum mihi in-dies magis animus accen-ditur, cum conſidero, quæ conditio vitæ futura ſit, niſi noſmetipſos vindica-mus in libertatem. Nam poſtquam reſpublica in paucorum potentiam, jus atque ditionem conceſſit ; ſemper illis reges, tetrar-chæ vectigales eſſe ; po-puli, nationes ſtipendia pendere ; cæteri omnes, ſtrenui, boni, nobiles at-que ignobiles, vulgus fui-mus, ſine gratia, ſine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, ſi reſpublica va-leret, formidini eſſemus. Itaque omnis gratia, po-tentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos ſunt, aut ubi illi volunt : nobis reli-querunt pericula, repul-ſas, judicia, egeſtatem. Quæ quouſque tandem*

drooped into our hands to no purpoſe. Nor would I for certainties purſue uncertainties, by the help of ſorry fellows not to be depended upon. But as I have, upon many important occaſions, found you gallant and faithful to me, I have thereby been encouraged to engage in the greateſt and moſt glorious undertaking that ever was, and the rather, becauſe I am ſenſible our intereſts are the very ſame. For union of intereſt is the only laſting bond of friendſhip. But you have already each of you heard apart what it is I propoſe to go upon. And I am daily more heartily diſpoſed thereto, when I conſider what ſort of life we muſt lead, if we do not endeavour the recovery of our liberty. For ſince all power and authority has been engroſſed by a few great men, kings and tetrarchs have been tributary to them ; to them only have the ſeveral nations and provinces of the empire paid taxes. The reſt of us, however brave and honeſt, whether noble or ignoble, have been treated as mob only, without intereſt or authority, in a ſlaviſh ſubjection to thoſe to whom we ſhould be a terror, if the government was upon a right foot. Now all intereſt, power, honour, and riches, are with them, or where they pleaſe. They have left us nothing but dangers, diſhonour, impeachments, and want. And how long, my moſt gallant friends, will you take all this at their hands? Is it not better to die bravely, than to loſe a miſerable diſhonourable life in a diſ-

Catilines Idea of Friendship!

*patiemini, fortiſſimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præſtat, quam vitam miſeram atque inhoneſtam, ubi alienæ ſuperbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?*

graceful manner, after you have been expoſed to the inſults of their haughty diſdain.

XXI. *Verum enimvero, proh deum atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu nobis eſt: viget ætas, animus valet. Contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia conſenuerunt. Tantummodo incœpto opus eſt: cætera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium eſt, tolerare poteſt, illis divitias ſuperare, quas profundant in extruendo mari & montibus coæquandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad neceſſaria deeſſe? illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem nuſquam ullum eſſe? Cum tabulas, ſigna, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant: poſtremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant: tamen ſumma lubidine divitias ſuas vincere nequeunt. At nobis eſt domi inopia, foris æs alienum; mala res, ſpes multo aſperior. Denique, quid reliqui habemus, præter miſeram animam? Quin igitur expergiſcimini! En illa, illa, quam ſæpe optaſtis, libertas; præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria in oculis*

XXI. But, O gods! victory is in our hands; we are in the prime of our ſtrength, our minds in full vigour; they upon the decline both from age and luxury. We need but begin, the project will execute itſelf. For what mortal, that has the ſpirit of a man in him, can endure with patience, that they ſhould ſo wallow in riches as to waſte them in ſtraitening the very ſeas by their large and ſtately buildings, and in the levelling of mountains, whilſt we are in want of neceſſaries? that they ſhould have two houſes, or more, and we none at all? They, though they are ever purchaſing fine pictures, ſtatues, and veſſels of fine workmanſhip, are ever pulling down even new houſes, and building them up again: in ſhort, though they contrive all the ways and means imaginable to waſte and conſume their money, yet with all their extravagance they can ſee no end of their riches; whilſt we have nothing but want at home, and debt abroad, our condition bad, and our expectations worſe. Finally, what have we left, but a wretched life? Rouze then, gentlemen! See now the liberty you have ſo often wiſhed for; riches moreover, honour, and glory, are all in view. Fortune offers all theſe rewards to the conquerors. Let the caſe itſelf, the juncture,

*lis ſita ſunt. Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia poſuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egeſtas, belli ſpolia magnifica magis, quam oratio mea, vos hortentur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini. Neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipſa, ut ſpero, vobiſcum una conſul agam: niſi forte me animus fallit, & vos ſervire magis, quam imperare, parati eſtis.*

XXII. Poſtquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, ſed neque res, neque ſpes bona ulla; tametſi illis, quieta movere, magna merces videbatur; tamen poſtulare plerique, uti proponeret, *quæ conditio belli foret, quæ armis præmia peterent; quid ubique opis aut ſpei haberent.* Tum Catilina polliceri *tabulas novas, proſcriptionem locupletium, magiſtratus, ſacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Præterea, eſſe in Hiſpania citeriore Piſonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu P. Sitium Nucerinum, conſilii ſui participes. Petere conſulatum C. Antonium, quem ſibi collegam fore ſperaret, hominem & familiarem & omnibus neceſſitudinibus circumventum. Cum eo conſulem ſe initium*

your danger, want, and the noble ſpoils of a war, work upon you more than my ſpeech. You ſhall have me either for your leader or your fellow-ſoldier. Neither my body nor mind ſhall ever forſake you. The things I am now ſpeaking to you about I hope to act in poſſeſſion of the conſular dignity conjointly with you, unleſs my gueſs fail me, and you prefer ſlavery before power and dominion.

XXII. *The company, upon hearing this ſpeech, though they were all wretched to the laſt degree, and without the leaſt hope of any amendment of their condition; and though they were inclinable too to think they might poſſibly find their own account in a publick confuſion; yet moſt of them deſired to know*, upon what terms they were to engage in this war, or what advantage they were to reap by it; what ſtrength they had, or what hopes of ſucceſs. *Then Catiline promiſed them* a cancelling of all paſt debts, a proſcription of the rich, places in the magiſtracy, or the prieſthood, free plunder, and all things elſe that war, and the licence of conqueſt, are apt to produce. *Beſides, he told them*, there was Piſo in hither Spain, and Publius Sitius Nucerinus in Mauritania, with an army, who were both embarked with him in the deſign. That C. Antonius was candidate for the conſulſhip, whom he hoped to have for his colleague, a man that was his intimate friend, and engaged in all

*agendi*

*agendi factūrum.* Ad hoc, maledictis increpabat omnis bonos; ſuorum unumquemque nominans, *laudare, admonere alium egeſtatis, alium cupiditatis ſuæ, complures periculi aut ignominiæ, multos victoriæ Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat.* Poſtquam omnium animos alacris videt; cohortatus ut petitionem ſuam curæ haberent, conventum dimiſit.

poſſible ties and obligations to him; that he would enter upon the affair in conjunction with him. *To this he added a great deal of bitter reflection upon all the honeſt party, and then naming his own ſingly each,* one he highly commended, another he put in mind of his poverty, another of ſomething he longed for, moſt of them of their danger or ſhame, and many of their ſucceſs under Sylla, whereby they had been enriched. *And perceiving them all to be much elevated, he adviſed them to take care of his intereſt in the enſuing election, and then broke up the aſſembly.*

XXIII. Fuere ea tempeſtate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad jusjurandum populares ſceleris ſui adigeret, humani corporis ſanguinem vino permixtum in pateris cicumtuliſſe; inde, cum poſt exſecrationem omnes deguſtaviſſent, ſicuti in ſolemnibus ſacris fieri conſuevit, aperuiſſe conſilium ſuum: atque eo dictitare feciſſe, quo inter ſe magis fidi forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conſcii. Nonnulli ficta & hæc & multa præterea exiſtumabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ poſtea orta eſt, leniri credebant atrocitate ſceleris eorum, qui pœnas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta eſt.

XXIII. *There were at that time ſome who ſaid that Catiline, after the making of this ſpeech of his, adminiſtered an oath to his fellow-conſpirators, and obliged them to drink a mixture of wine and man's blood, handed about in bowls; which when they had done, in imitation of the cuſtom of drinking wine round in ſolemn ſacrifices, he more fully diſcloſed to them his intentions, and told them, he had made uſe of that ceremony, to engage them the more effectually to a faithful unanimous execution of ſo noble a deſign. But ſome believed all this, and much more of the like kind, was mere fiction, proceeding from ſuch as thought the odium, which Cicero afterwards fell under, might be abated by the horrid wickedneſs of thoſe that were puniſhed by him. For my part, I muſt own I have not met with any ſufficient evidence for ſo heinous a charge.*

XXIV. Sed

XXIV. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obſcuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus; quem cenſores ſenatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat, quam audacia. Neque reticere quæ audierat, neque ſuamet ipſe ſcelera occultare; prorſus neque dicere, neque facere, quidquam penſi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, ſtupri vetus conſuetudo. Cui cum minus gratus eſſet, quod inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians, *maria montiſque polliceri*; *minari interdum ferro, ni ſibi obnoxia foret*. Poſtremo, ferocius agitare, quam ſolitus erat. At Fulvia, inſolentiæ Curii cauſa cognita, tale periculum reipublicæ haud occultum habuit; ſed, ſublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione, quæ quo modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis ſtudia hominum accendit ad conſulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æſtuabat, & quaſi pollui conſulatum credebat, ſi eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque ſuperbia poſtfuere.

XXIV. *Now in this conſpiracy was engaged Q. Curius, deſcended of no mean family, but a vile profligate wretch, whom the cenſors, for his ſcandalous life, had ſtruck out of the liſt of the ſenators. This man had an equal ſhare of vanity and impudence; was neither able to contain a ſecret, nor even to conceal his own wicked pranks; in ſhort, he neither regarded what he ſaid, or what he did. He had an old intrigue with one Fulvia, a lady of noble birth; but declining in favour with her, by reaſon of his poverty, which diſabled him from making the preſents ſhe expected from him, he began all on a ſudden to bounce*, and promiſe her golden mountains, and ſometimes threatened to ſtab her, if ſhe would not comply with his inclinations; *and, in ſhort, behaved in a much more ſawcy, haughty manner than he had ever been uſed to do before. Fulvia, when ſhe came to underſtand the occaſion of all this inſolence, made no ſecret of the danger the ſtate was in, but told to ſeveral all ſhe had heard relating to Catiline's conſpiracy, yet without naming her author. This diſcovery made the people in general zealous for chuſing M. Tully Cicero conſul. For before this, almoſt all the nobility uſed to fret with envy, and look upon the conſular dignity as defiled, when any perſon of low birth, how excellently qualified ſoever he was, happened to procure the ſame But now, upon the appearance of this danger, envy and pride vaniſhed at once.*

XXV. Igi-

XXV. Igitur, comitiis habitis, conſules declarantur M. Tullius & C. Antonius. Quod factum primo populares conjurationis concuſſerat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur; ſed indies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, ſua aut amicorum fide ſumptam mutuam, Fæſulas ad Manlium quemdam portare; qui poſtea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempeſtate plurimos cujuſque generis homines adſciviſſe ſibi dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primo ingentis ſumptus ſtupro corporis toleraverant; poſt, ubi ætas tantummodo quæſtui, neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas ſe Catilina credebat poſſe ſervitia urbana ſolicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere ſibi vel interficere.

*XXV. Accordingly, at the enſuing election, M. Tully and C. Antonius were declared conſuls, which at firſt gave a great ſhock to the conſpirators. However, the madneſs of Cataline did not abate upon it at all. He was every day more and more taken up with freſh projects; he lodged arms in the moſt convenient places for his deſign, up and down Italy; took up money upon his own credit, or that of his friends, and ſent it to Fæſulæ to Manlius, who was afterwards the firſt that appeared in arms for the cauſe. He is ſaid at the ſame time to have drawn in great numbers of all ranks, and ſome women, who in the prime of their years had ſupported their extravagance by proſtitution; but when age put an end to that trade, though not to their luxury, had run themſelves into a great deal of debt. Catiline expected by their means to engage the city ſlaves for him, to fire the town, and either draw over their huſbands to join him, or murder them.*

XXVI. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa ſæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiſerat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis ſatis fortunata fuit: Literis Græcis & Latinis docta; pſallere, ſaltare elegantius, quam neceſſe eſt probæ; multa alia, quæ inſtrumenta luxuriæ ſunt.

*XXVI. Amongſt theſe was Sempronia, who had in her time, with a boldneſs very uncommon with the ſex, played a great many mad pranks. This woman was happy in her extraction and perſon, as likewiſe a huſband and children; a great miſtreſs of the Greek and Latin tongue; would play upon an inſtrument, and dance more finely than any honeſt woman needs to do; and in ſeveral*

Sed

Sed ei cariora ſemper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud facile diſcerneres. Lubidine ſic accenſa, ut ſæpius peteret viros, quam peteretur. Sed ea ſæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conſcia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat. Verum, ingenium ejus haud abſurdum. Poſſe verſus facere, jocum movere; ſermone uti, vel modeſto, vel molli, vel procaci. Prorſus multæ facetiæ, multuſque lepos inerat.

*other articles of luxury ſhe was very nice and dexterous. But for decency and modeſty, thoſe were the leaſt of her care. It was hard to ſay, whether ſhe was more laviſh of her money, or her reputation. She was a woman of that furious luſt, that ſhe more frequently made advances to the men than they to her. She had frequently, contrary to her promiſe given, revealed ſecrets, abjured what had been left in truſt with her, had been guilty of murder, and, at the inſtigation of luxury and poverty together, had run headlong into all manner of wickedneſs. But ſhe was a woman of parts, could write verſes, was very facetious, and equally fitted for modeſt or wanton converſation. In ſhort, ſhe was an exceeding pleaſant witty woman.*

XXVII. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilominus in proximum annum conſulatum petebat; ſperans, ſi deſignatus foret, facile ſe ex voluntate Antonio uſurum. Neque interea quietus erat, ſed omnibus modis inſidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut aſtutiæ deerant. Namque a principio conſulatus ſui, multa per Fulviam pollicendo effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, conſilia Catilinæ ſibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam ſuum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam ſentiret: circùm

XXVII. *But notwithſtanding theſe preparations for the execution of his project, Catiline declared himſelf a candidate for the conſulſhip againſt the next year; in hopes, if he ſhould be choſen, of making Anthony his tool. In the mean time he was not idle, but uſed his utmoſt endeavours to take off Cicero, who wanted not cunning and dexterity on his part to countermine all his contrivances. For, as ſoon as he entered upon the office of conſul, by large promiſes to Fulvia, he prevailed with Quintus Curius, whom I have mentioned a little above, to diſcover to him all the deſigns of Catiline. And further, by the aſſurance of a province, he engaged Anthony not to act againſt the government; and had privately guards of friends and clients about him.*

circum ſe præſidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Poſtquam dies comitiorum venit, & Catilinæ neque petitio, neque inſidiæ, quas conſuli fecerat, proſpere ceſſere ; conſtituit bellum facere, & extrema omnia experiri ; quoniam, quæ occulte tentaverat, aſpera fœdaque evenerant.

XXVIII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæſulas, atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimiſit ; præterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum ſibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa ſimul moliri : conſuli inſidias tendere. Parare incendia. Opportuna loca armatis hominibus obſidere. Ipſe cum telo eſſe, item alios jubere, hortari, uti ſemper intenti paratique eſſent. Dies noctiſque feſtinare. Vigilare, neque inſomniis neque labore fatigari. Poſtremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rurſus intempeſta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læccam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum queſtus, docet *ſe præmiſiſſe Manlium ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat ; item alios in alia*

*When the day of election came, and Catiline found that neither his ſuit for the conſulſhip, nor his plot for aſſaſſinating the conſul in the field of Mars, ſucceeded, he reſolved upon open war, and to try the utmoſt extremity ; ſince all his underhand contrivances had miſerably miſcarried.*

XXVIII. *Accordingly he diſpatched away C. Manlius to Fæſulæ, to take care of his concerns there, and in the neighbouring parts to Etruria ; one Septimius Camers into the territory of Picene ; and C. Julius into Apulia. Others likewiſe he ſent off, one one way, and another another, where he thought they might be moſt ſubſervient to his deſign. In the mean time he was carrying on ſeveral projects, one to murder the conſul ; another to fire the city ; another to ſecure proper places with an armed force. He had always a ſword about him, and ordered the reſt to be provided after the ſame manner ; and deſired them to be always ready and prepared for action. He was day and night in a hurry, got little ſleep, and yet was not fatigued with the want of it, or all the pains he underwent. Finally, when all his endeavours proved abortive, he again ſummons the principal of the conſpirators, by M. Porcius Læcca, to repair to his houſe in the dead time of the night ; and there complaining heavily of their want of ſpirit and activity, he informs*

*loca*

*loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; ſeque ad exercitum proficiſci cupere, ſi prius Ciceronem oppreſiſſet: eum ſuis conſiliis multum officere.*

*them*, that he had ſent Manlius before him to the people he had prepared to take up arms, and had likewiſe diſpatched away others into proper places to begin the war: and that he himſelf was deſirous to go to the army, but wanted to take off Cicero firſt; for that he very much obſtructed his deſigns.

XXIX. Igitur, perteritis ac dubitantibus cæteris, C. Cornelius eques Rom. operam ſuam pollicitus, & cum eo L. Varguntejus ſenator, conſtituere ea nocte paullo poſt, cum armatis hominibus, ſicuti ſalutum, introire ad Ciceronem, & de improviſo domi ſuæ imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi intelligit quantum periculum conſuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabatur, enunciat. Ita illi janua prohibiti, tantum facinus fruſtra ſuſceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem ſolicitare, egeſtate ſimul ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum cupidam; quod Sullæ dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiſerat; præterea latrones cujuſque generis, quorum ea in regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. *All the reſt being diſpirited, and not at all forward to engage in ſuch an affair, C. Cornelius, a Roman knight, offered his ſervice, and together with him Lucius Varguntejus, a ſenator. They propoſed to go that very night with armed men to Cicero's houſe, and enter it, under pretence of paying their reſpects; and then to fall unexpectedly upon him, and ſtab him, unprovided for a defence. Curius, upon finding how great a danger the conſul was in, immediately diſpatches away Fulvia to him, to give him notice of the deſign. Whereupon the aſſaſſins were denied admittance, and that plot was blaſted. In the mean time, Manlius in Etruria ſollicits the common people to riſe, who were ripe for a rebellion, inſtigated by their poverty, and reſentment of the injuſtice that had been done them, having been ſtripped of their lands and goods under the tyranny of Sylla. He likewiſe encouraged robbers of all kinds to come in to him, of which there was great plenty in that country. Some likewiſe he picked up from amongſt the old ſoldiers of Sylla, whom he had ſettled in the poſſeſſion of lands in that country, to whom lewdneſs and luxury had left nothing of all the great ſpoil they had made under him.*

XXX. Ea

XXX. Ea cum Ciceroni nunciarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab inſidiis privato conſilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo conſilio foret, ſatis compertum habebat; rem ad ſenatum refert, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio ſolet, ſenatus decrevit, *darent operam conſules, nequid reſpublica detrimenti caperet.* Ea poteſtas per ſenatum, more Romano, magiſtratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis ſocios atque civis; domi militiæque imperium atque judicium ſummum habere. Aliter, ſine populi juſſu, nulli earum rerum conſuli jus eſt.

XXXI. Poſt paucos dies L. Senius ſenator in ſenatu literas recitavit, quas Fæſulis allatas ſibi dicebat a Q. Fabio; in quibus ſcriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepiſſe, cum magna multitudine, ante diem vi. kal. Nov. Simul, id quod in tali re ſolet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant: alii, conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ atque in Apulia ſervile bellum moveri.

XXX. *Upon advice of this, Cicero being moved with a ſenſe of the double danger that threatened the commonwealth, becauſe it was neither poſſible for him, by his own ſingle endeavours, any longer to ſecure effectually the city againſt the plot; nor had he any certain account of the number of Manlius's army, or how he deſigned to proceed; he lays the matter before the ſenate, which was already become the common talk of the town. Upon this, according to ancient cuſtom in a time of great danger, the ſenate paſſed a vote,* That the conſuls ſhould take care, and provide for the ſecurity of the ſtate. *Now by ſuch a vote as this, the conſuls became inveſted with a very extraordinary authority of raiſing troops, levying war, and exerciſing a ſort of deſpotick power, as well over the Romans, as their allies, both at home and abroad. Otherwiſe, without the people's order, a conſul has no authority for any of theſe things.*

XXXI. *A few days after this, Lucius Senius, a ſenator, read a letter in the houſe, which he ſaid was brought him from Fæſulæ by Quintus Fabius, giving an account, that C. Manlius had taken up arms, with a vaſt number of people, upon the ſixth of the calends of November. At the ſame time, as it uſually happens in ſuch caſes, ſome brought news of ſtrange omens and prodigies, others of unuſual aſſemblies, and the hurrying of arms from place to place; and that the ſlaves were up at Capua,*

Igitur

gitur ſenati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Fæſulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam, circumque ea loa miſſi. Hi utrique ad rbem imperatores erant; npediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucoum, quibus omnia hoeſta atque inhoneſta venere mos erat. Sed præores Q. Pompejus Ruıs Capuam, Q. Metelıs Celer in agrum Piceum; hiſque permiſſum, *ti pro tempore atque peiculo exercitum compaarent.* Ad hoc, *ſi quis ıdicaſſet de conjuratione, uæ contra rempublicam ıcta erat, præmium, rvo libertatem & ſeſrtia centum; libero npunitatem ejus rei & ſtertia cc.* Itemque decrevere, *uti familiæ gladiatoriæ Capuam & in ætera municipia diſtriuerentur, pro cujuſque ibus; Romæ per totam rbem vigiliæ haberentur, ſque minores magiſtratus ræeſſent.*

*and in Apulia. Wherefore, by order of the ſenate, Q. Marcius Rex was diſpatched away to Fæſulæ, Q. Metellus Creticus into Apulia, and the places thereabout. Theſe two gentlemen were at that time in the command of armies, attending nigh the city, in expectation of the honour of a triumph; but were baulked by the ſpiteful endeavours of ſome, whoſe cuſtom was to do any thing, right or wrong, for money, and nothing without. The prætors too, Q. Pompeius Rufus was ſent to Capua, and Q. Metellus Celer into the territory of Picene, with commiſſions* to levy troops as the exigency of the times and the danger might require. *Beſides, the ſenate voted* a reward of his freedom, and a hundred thouſand ſeſterces, to any ſlave, and a pardon, with two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, to any freed-man, that would make any diſcovery relating to the conſpiracy then on foot againſt the government. *They likewiſe ordered*, that gladiators ſhould be diſperſed in Capua, and other borough-towns, in numbers proportioned to the abilities of each town for the ſupport of them, and that conſtant guards ſhould be kept up and down Rome, commanded by the inferior magiſtrates.

XXXII. Quibus reus permota civitas, atue immutata facies uris erat: ex ſumma lætia atque laſcivia, quæ iuturna quies pepererat, epente omnis triſtitia inaſit. Feſtinare, trepiare, neque loco neque

XXXII. *By all theſe things the city was put into a mighty conſternation, and the appearance thereof very much changed; and from a ſtate of jollity and wantonneſs, which a long quiet had produced, a diſmal concern ſpread through the whole town. There was nothing but hurry and fright*

F homini

hominí cuiquam ſatis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere. Suo quiſque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres, quibus pro reipublicæ magnitudine belli timor inſolitus inceſſerat, afflictare ſeſe: manus ſupplices ad cœlum tendere; miſereri parvos liberos; rogitare; omnia pavere; ſuperbia atque deliciis omiſſis, ſibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametſi præſidia parabantur, & ipſe lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Poſtremo, diſſimulandi cauſſa, & quaſi ſui expurgandi, ſicuti jurgio laceſſitus foret, in ſenatum venit. Tum M. Tullius conſul, ſive præſentiam ejus timens, ſive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ, quam poſtea ſcriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille adſedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad diſſimulanda omnia, demiſſo vultu, voce ſupplici, *poſtulare a patribus, ne quid de ſe temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita ab adoleſcentia vitam inſtituiſſe, ut omnia bona in ſpe haberet. Ne exiſtumarent, ſibi patricio homini, cujus ipſius atque majorum pluri-*

*every where. No one thought any place, or any company ſufficiently ſecure. They had neither war nor peace, and every one meaſured the danger by his own fears. Now the women, full of their apprehenſions of war, which, by reaſon of the grandeur of the Roman ſtate, they had not been before uſed to, bemoaned their caſe moſt diſmally, lifted up their hands in prayer to heaven, bewailed their little children, were full of enquiry after news, afraid of every thing, and dropping their pride, niceneſs, and finery, all at once, gave up themſelves and their country for gone. But the cruel ſoul of Catiline ſti[ll] purſued the ſame wild project, notwithſtanding all the precautio[ns] that were taken againſt him, an[d] though he himſelf was impeach[ed] upon the Plautian law by Luci[us] Paulus. At laſt he made his ap[-]pearance in the ſenate-houſe, [in] order to cloak his villainy, an[d] under pretence of clearing himſel[f] as if he had been wrongfully a[c]famed. Then M. Tully the co[n]ſul, whether apprehenſive of [ill] conſequences from his appearan[ce] there, or fired with reſentmen[t] made a very fine ſpeech, very ſu[it]able to the occaſion; which he a[f]terwards put in writing, and pu[b]liſhed. But after he ſat down, C[a]tiline, as he was finiſhed maſ[ter] in the art of diſſimulation, wi[th] a dejected look, and humble to[ne]* began to beg of the houſe, n[ot] raſhly to believe what was ſaid [of] him; that his family was ſuc[h] and he had from his youth led [his] life in ſuch a manner, that he h[ad]

*ma beneficia in plebem R. eſſent, perdita republica opus eſſe; cum eam ſervaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romæ.* Ad hoc, maledicta alia cum adderat, obſtrepere omnes, *hoſtem atque parricidam vocare.* Tum ille furibundus: *Quoniam quidem circumventus,* inquit, *ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruina extinguam.*

reaſon to expect every thing he could wiſh for. *He requeſted of them,* they would not believe, that he a nobleman, who had himſelf, as well as his anceſtors, done many ſervices for the people of Rome, ſhould have any occaſion to ſeek the deſtruction of the commonwealth, whilſt M. Tully, who was but a tenant in town, ſtood up for its preſervation. *As he proceeded in his reflections upon the conſul, there was a general outcry raiſed againſt him by the houſe,* as an enemy to his country, and a parricide. *Upon which he, in a mighty rage, ſaid,* Since I find myſelf circumvented, and puſhed upon extremities by my enemies, I will put out the fire of your houſes with the utter demolition of them.

XXXIII. Dein ſe ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa ſecum ipſe volvens, quod neque inſidiæ conſuli procedebant, & ab incendio intelligebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optumum factu credens exercitum augere, ac prius, quam legiones ſcriberentur, multa antecapere quæ bello uſui forent, nocte intempeſta cum paucis in Manliana caſtra profectus eſt. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, cæteriſque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, *quibus rebus poſſent, opes factionis confirment, inſidias conſuli maturent; cædem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: ſeſe propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem acceſſurum.*

XXXIII. *With that he got haſtily out of the houſe, and went home; where conſidering with himſelf, that his deſigns upon the conſul came to nothing, and that the city was ſecured againſt his intention of burning it, by watch and ward conſtantly kept; he thought his beſt courſe would be to increaſe his army, and to make his advantage by ſeizing of proper places for his purpoſe, before the legions deſigned to oppoſe him were raiſed. Accordingly, about midnight he went off, with a few attendants, for Manlius's camp. But recommended to Cethegus and Lentulus, and others, whoſe zeal and boldneſs he was aſſured of,* by all poſſible means to ſtrengthen their party, to get rid of Cicero as ſoon as poſſible, and prepare for a maſſacre, firing of the town, and other acts of war: that he would immediately come to the city with a great army.

F 2 XXXIV. Dum

XXXIV. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex ſuo numero legatos ad Q. Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuſcemodi: *Deos hominesque teſtamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepiſſe, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, ſed uti corpora noſtra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miſeri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate fœneratorum, plerique patria, ſed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes ſumus. Neque cuiquam noſtrum licuit, more majorum, lege uti; neque amiſſo patrimonio, corpus liberum habere; tanta ſævitia fœneratorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores noſtri, miſeriti plebis R. decretis ſuis inopiæ ejus opitulati ſunt. Ac noviſſume, memoria noſtra, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum ære ſolutum eſt. Sæpe ipſa plebes, aut dominandi ſtudio permota, aut ſuperbia magiſtratuum armata, a patribus ſeceſſit. At nos non imperium, neque divitias petimus; quarum rerum cauſſa, bella atque certamina inter mortalis ſunt; ſed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, niſi cum anima ſimul, amittit. Te atque ſenatum*

XXXIV. *Whilſt theſe things are doing at Rome, C. Manlius ſent ſome of his lieutenant-generals to Q. Marcius Rex, with a meſſage to this effect:* We call gods and men to witneſs, noble general, that we have not taken up arms either againſt our country, or to bring others in danger, but only to defend our own perſons from ill uſage, who being reduced to a ſtate of miſery and want, by the violence and cruelty of our creditors, are moſt of us baniſhed our country, but all of us ſtript entirely of our credit and fortunes. Nor could any of us have the uſual benefit of the law for our protection, or enjoy the liberty of our perſons, after the loſs of our eſtates; ſuch was the cruelty of our creditors and the prætor together. Our fore elders frequently took pity of the commons of Rome, and by their decrees relieved their want. And lately in our own times, by reaſon of the great debt that multitudes were involved in, by the vote of every honeſt man, braſs was made to paſs in payment for ſilver, weight for weight. The commons have frequently in their ſtruggles for a ſhare of power and authority in the government, or upon provocation from the pride of the magiſtrates, come to an open breach with the ſenate. But we neither deſire power nor riches; for the ſake of which all the wars and contentions that happen amongſt mankind, are raiſed. 'Tis liberty only that we requeſt, which no brave man is willing to loſe but with his life. We there-

*ob-*

*obteſtamur, conſulatis miſeris civibus; legis præſidium, quod iniquitas prætoris eripuit, reſtituatis: neve nobis eam neceſſitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus, quonam modo, maxume ulti ſanguinem noſtrum pereamus.*

XXXV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius reſpondit: *Si quid ab ſenatu petere vellent, ab armis diſcedant, Romam ſupplices proficiſcantur. Ea miſericordia atque manſuetudine ſenatum populumque Romanum ſemper fuiſſe, ut nemo unquam ab eo fruſtra auxilium petiverit.* At Catilina ex itinere pleriſque conſularibus, præterea optumo cuique literas mittit: *Se, falſis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum reſiſtere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Maſſiliam in exſilium proficiſci: non quo ſibi tanti ſceleris conſcius eſſet, ſed uti reſpublica quieta foret, neve ex ſua contentione ſeditio oriretur.* Ab his longe diverſas literas Q. Catulus in ſenatu recitavit; quas ſibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat. Earum exemplum infra ſcriptum eſt.

XXXVI. *L. Catilina Q. Catulo, S. Egregia tua*

fore beg of you and the ſenate, to take the care of us your fellow-citizens under conſideration, and reſtore us the protection of the law, which the iniquity of the Prætor has taken from us; and that you would not lay us under a neceſſity of conſidering how we may ſell our lives at the deareſt rate.

XXXV. *To this Q. Marcius made anſwer,* If they had any thing to requeſt of the ſenate, they ought to lay down their arms, and apply with all due ſubmiſſion to Rome. That the ſenate and people of Rome had alway ſhewn themſelves of ſo mild and merciful a diſpoſition, that no one ever applied to them for their aſſiſtance in vain. *But Catiline in his journey ſent letters to moſt of the conſular gentlemen in Rome, eſpecially thoſe of the beſt character amongſt them, ſignifying,* That whereas he had been on all hands perſecuted with charges of a heinous nature, utterly falſe, and found it impoſſible to ſtand againſt the faction of his enemies, he ſubmitted to his fate, and was going to Marſeilles, to ſpend his days in baniſhment there; not that he was conſcious to himſelf of the villainy he was charged with, but in regard ſolely to the quiet of his country, and to prevent the diſturbance his conteſting with his enemies might occaſion. *But Q. Catulus read in the ſenate-houſe, a letter quite different from all theſe, which he ſaid was delivered him as from Catiline; a copy of which follows.*

XXXVI. L. Catiline to Q. Catulus, greeting. Your extraordi-

*fides, re cognita, grata mihi, magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem defenſionem in conſilio novo non ſtatui parare: ſatisfactionem ex nulla conſcientia de culpa proponere decrevi: quæ medius fidius licet vera mecum cognoſcas. Injuriis contumeliiſque concitatus, quod, fructu laboris induſtriæque meæ privatus, ſtatum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miſerorum cauſſam pro mea conſuetudine ſuſcepi. Non quin æs alienum meis nominibus ex poſſeſſionibus ſolvere poſſem; cum & alienis nominibus liberalitas Aureliæ Oreſtillæ ſuis filiæque copiis perſolveret. Sed, quod non dignos homines honore honeſtatos videbam, meque falſo ſuſpicione alienatum eſſe ſentiebam; hoc nomiue ſatis honeſtas pro meo caſu ſpes reliquæ dignitatis conſervandæ ſum ſecutus. Plura cum ſcribere vellem, nunciatum eſt mihi vim parari. Nunc Oreſtillam tibi commendo, tuæque fidei trado. Eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto.*

nary honour, known to me by experience, and for which I am obliged to you, gives me the aſſurance of recommending my caſe to you in my preſent diſtreſs. And in dependance upon your undertaking it, I would not ſtand upon my defence in the uncommon meaſures taken againſt me, but for the preſent contented myſelf with the ſatisfaction ariſing from a conſciouſneſs of my innocence, which I do aver upon my honour to be real. Provoked by injuries and indignities, in being robbed of the fruits of my labour and induſtry, and not ſuffered to keep the honourable ſtation that belonged to me, I publickly undertook the cauſe of poor oppreſſed people, agreeably to my former way of life. Not but that I could have ſatisfied my own creditors out of my own eſtate, whilſt the generoſity of Oreſtilla would have done the ſame for others my friends out of her own and her daughter's eſtate. But finding worthleſs men advanced to places of truſt and power in the government, and myſelf ſet aſide upon a groundleſs ſuſpicion, I have, I think, conſidering my circumſtances, purſued means honourable enough for the preſervation of the remainder of dignity left me. I ſhould have ſaid more to you, but word is juſt brought me that we are going to be attacked. I recommend to your protection Oreſtilla. Suffer her not to be ill uſed, I beg of you, as you wiſh well to your own children. Farewel.

XXXVII. Sed

XXXVII. Sed ipſe, ucos dies commoratus ud C. Flaminium in ro Reatino, dum vici-tatem antea ſolicitatam mis exornat, cum faſ-ous atque aliis imperii ſignibus in caſtra ad anlium contendit. Hæc i Romæ comperta ſunt, natus *Catilinam & Man-m hoſtis* judicat; *cæte-multitudini diem ſtatuit, te quam liceret ſine frau-ab armis diſcedere, præ-rerum capitalium con-mnatis.* Præterea de-rnit, *uti conſules delec-m habeant; C. Antonius m exercitu Catilinam per-qui maturet; Cicero urbi æſidio ſit.* Ea tem-ſtate mihi imperium opuli R. multo maxu-e miſerabile viſum eſt; ii cum ad occaſum ab tu ſolis omnia domita mis parerent, domi ium atque divitiæ, quæ ima mortales putant, fluerent; fuere tamen ves qui ſeque remque ublicam obſtinatis animis erditum irent. Nam-ue, duobus ſenati decre-s, ex tanta multitudine, eque præmio inductus onjurationem patefece-it, neque ex caſtris Ca-linæ quiſquam omnium iſceſſerat. Tanta vis orbi, atque uti tabes, ple-oſque civium animos in-aſerat.

XXXVII. *He ſtaid a few days with C. Flaminius in the territory of Reate, 'till he could provide the neighbourhood, which had been engaged in the cauſe before, with arms, and then marched with the faſces, and other enſigns of command, to Manlius's camp. When the news of this was carried to Rome, the ſenate voted* Catiline and Manlius enemies, and fixed a day for the troops under their command, within which, if they laid down their arms, they were aſſured of a pardon, except ſuch as had been condemned for capital crimes. *They likewiſe ordered the conſuls* to levy an army, which C. Antonius was to lead with all expedition againſt Catiline, whilſt Cicero was to provide for the ſecurity of the city. *The Roman ſtate at that time ſeemed to me to be in a moſt piteous condition; when, though all nations from the riſing of the ſun to the ſetting of the ſame were reduced to their obedience, and there was at home a profound peace, and a prodigious afluence of riches, which men are apt to prefer before every thing elſe; yet was there a ſort of people, and Romans too, who were obſtinately bent upon their own ruin, with that of the commonwealth. For, notwithſtanding the two votes above mentioned, there was not one of ſo great a number concerned in the plot that was prevailed upon by the reward offered to make the leaſt diſcovery, nor one deſerted Catiline's camp. So ſtrangely were their minds infected with a diſpoſition to rebellion and miſchief.*

 XXXVIII. Ne-

XXXVIII. Neque ſolum illis aliena mens erat, qui conſcii conjurationis fuerant; ſed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum ſtudio, Catilinæ incœpta probabat. Id adeo more ſuo videbatur facere. Nam ſemper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ ſunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio ſuarum rerum mutari omnia ſtudent; turba atque ſeditionibus ſine cura aluntur, quoniam egeſtas facile habetur ſine damno. Sed urbana plebes ea vero præceps ierat multis de cauſſis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume præſtabant; item alii, per dedecora, patrimoniis amiſſis; poſtremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat; hi Romam, ſicuti in ſentinam, confluxerant. Dein multi, memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod ex gregariis militibus alios ſenatores videbant; alios ita divites, ut regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent; ſibi quiſque, ſi in armis foret, ex victoria talia ſperabat. Præterea juventus, quæ in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urba-

XXXVIII. *Nor was this the caſe only of thoſe that were concerned in the conſpiracy; but the whole body of the common people were deſirous of a revolution in the government, and approved of Catiline's deſign. And herein they ſeemed to act only according to their uſual temper and diſpoſition. For, in all governments, the poorer ſort are apt to envy the good, and extol the bad; hate a conſtitution they have been uſed to, and wiſh for a new one; and from a diſſatisfaction with their own circumſtances, endeavour to have all things turned upſide-down; becauſe in a time of publick diſorder and confuſion they find an eaſy ſubſiſtence, as having, by reaſon of their poverty, nothing to loſe. But the commonalty of Rome, eſpecially at this time, were from ſeveral cauſes grown extremely corrupt. In the firſt place, the moſt profligate wretches every where, and ſuch as had waſted their eſtates by ſcandalous extravagance; finally, all whoſe villainies had forced them from their native country, flocked to Rome, as a common ſewer for the reception of all manner of filth. And then again, many reflecting upon Sylla's ſucceſs, and how they had ſeen many raiſed from the degree of common ſoldiers to the dignity of ſenators, and many ſo enriched as to live like kings all their lives after, every man, in caſe of a war, hoped for the like, from the ſucceſs of his party. Beſides, the young fellows that lived in the country by their labour, tempted to town by the*

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num otium ingrato labori prætulerat. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum eſt, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma ſpe, reipublicæ juxta ac ſibi conſuluiſſe. Præterea quorum, victoria Sullæ, parentes proſcripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud ſane alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicunque aliarum atque ſenati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quam minus valere ipſi, malebant. Id adeo malum multos poſt annos in civitatem reverterat.

*private and publick largeſſes there ſtirring, preferred an idle life there to hard working in the country. Theſe, and the reſt I mentioned, were ſubſiſted by the troubles of the commonwealth; and therefore it is not to be wondered, that a pack of ſcrubby raſcally fellows, with ſuch a view before them, ſhould juſt be as much concerned for the good of the publick, as they had been for their own before. Beſides too, all thoſe whoſe parents had been proſcribed under the tyranny of Sylla, who had had their eſtates confiſcated, or been disfranchiſed, had much the like expectations from a war, as the others had. And moreover, they who were of the party oppoſite to the ſenate, choſe rather to have the ſtate involved in confuſion, than not carry their point: a humour which had for many years laid dormant, but was now ſtarted up in the city again.*

XXXIX. Nam poſtquam Cn. Pompejo & M. Craſſo coſſ. tribunitia poteſtas reſtituta eſt, homines adoleſcentes, ſummam poteſtatem nacti, quibus ætas animuſque ferox erat, cœpere, ſenatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein largiundo atque pollicitando, magis incendere; ita ipſi clari potenteſque fieri. Contra eos ſumma ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas ſenati ſub ſpecie, pro ſua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis verum abſolvam, per illa

XXXIX. *For after the revival of the tribunitian authority, in the conſulſhip of Cn. Pompey and M. Craſſus, raw young gentlemen of great ſpirits, getting into poſſeſſion of that high dignity, began by railing at the ſenate, to incenſe the commonalty againſt them; and then by throwing away their money upon them, and making mighty promiſes of what great things they would do for them, they inflamed them ſtill the more, and were themſelves in high vogue, and carried all before them. Theſe were oppoſed by the greateſt part of the nobility, under pretence of promoting the power of the ſenate, but in reality for their own. For, to*

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tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honeſtis nominibus, alii, ſicuti jura populi defenderent, pars, quo ſenati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum ſimulantes, pro ſua quiſque potentia certabant; neque illis modeſtia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

*ſay the truth at once, all the diſturbers of the publick at that time, under plauſible pretences, ſome of aſſerting the rights and privileges of the people, others of advancing the authority of the ſenate, pretending all to have nothing ſo much at heart as the publick good, did in reality ſtickle every one only for their own power; and that without any regard to modeſty or moderation at all. And both ſides, as they happened to prevail, made a cruel uſe of their victory.*

XL. Sed, poſtquam Cn. Pompejus ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum miſſus eſt, plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magiſtratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: ipſi innoxii, florentes, ſine metu ætatem agere, cæteroſque judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magiſtratu placidius tractarent. Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandis ſpes oblata eſt, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quod ſi primo prælio Catilina ſuperior, aut æqua manu diſceſſiſſet: profecto magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppreſſiſſet: neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuiſſet; quin defeſſis & exſanguibus, qui plus poſſet, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret.

XL. *But when Cn. Pompey was ſent to the war againſt the pirates and Mithridates, the power of the commons began to decline, and that of a few to riſe upon it. Theſe engroſſed the publick offices of ſtate, the provinces and all things elſe; liv'd in great eaſe, grandeur, and ſecurity, and kept the reſt in conſtant apprehenſions of proſecutions and impeachments, in order to render the commons more tame and ſubmiſſive. But as ſoon as any hopes of a revolution preſented, the commons took heart, and begun to play the old game over again. And if Catiline in the firſt battle had come off conqueror, or but with equal advantage, the publick would have been engaged in the moſt terrible circumſtances of ruin and deſolation; nor would thoſe who got the victory, have long enjoyed it; but the moſt potent amongſt them, would have forced from the reſt, weary and lifeleſs with the diſpute, all power, and their liberty withal. However there were ſeveral not concern'd in the conſpicacy, who*

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'uere tamen extra con-
urationem complures ;
ui ad Catilinam initio
rofecti ſunt. In his erat
A. Fulvius, ſenatoris filius;
uem retractum ex itine-
e pater necari juſſit. Iiſ-
lem temporibus Romæ
Lentulus, ſicuti Catilina
ræceperat, quoſcunque
noribus aut fortuna no-
'is rebus idoneos crede-
at, aut per ſe aut per
lios ſolicitabat ; neque
olum cives, ſed cujuſ-
uemodi genus hominum,
uod modo uſui bello
oret.

XLI. Igitur P. Um-
reno cuidam negotium
lat, uti legatos Allobro-
gum requirat ; eoſque, ſi
oſſit, impellat ad ſocie-
atem belli ; exiſtumans
ublice privatimque ære
lieno oppreſſos, præte-
ea quod natura gens
Gallica bellicoſa eſſet, fa-
cile ad tale conſilium ad-
duci poſſe. Umbrenus,
quod in Gallia negotiatus
erat, pleriſque principibus
civitatum notus erat, at-
que eos noverat. Itaque
ſine mora, ubi primum
legatos in foro conſpexit,
percunctatus pauca de
ſtatu civitatis, & quaſi
dolens ejus caſum, requi-
rere cœpit, *quem exitum
tantis malis ſperarent.*
Poſtquam illos vidit *queri
de avaritia magiſtratu-
um, accuſare ſenatum,*

*at firſt went over to Catiline, amongſt them A. Fulvius, a ſenator's ſon; who was fetch'd back again, before he could reach the camp, and put to death, by the order of his father. At the ſame time Lentulus at Rome, agreeably to the inſtructions of Catiline, endeavoured by himſelf or others to engage in the cauſe all ſuch as he looked upon to be diſpoſed by their vices or ill circumſtances for a rebellion, and not citizens only, but any kind of men whatever, if they could but be of any ſervice in the war.*

XLI. *Accordingly he employs one P. Umbrenus to ſeek out the ambaſſadors of the Allobroges, and perſuade them, if poſſible, to join in the war; ſuppoſing that as the ſtate of the Allobroges, as well as great numbers of private perſons amongſt them, were ſadly encumbered with debts, and as the whole nation of the Gauls was naturally warlike, they might eaſily be drawn into ſuch a deſign. Umbrenus having followed the employment of a merchant in Gaul, was acquainted with moſt of the leading men there. Wherefore, without more ado, as ſoon as he ſet ſight on the ambaſſadors on the forum, he briefly enquired* how matters went at home with them. *And as if he was concerned for their condition, he began to aſk them,* whether they had any hopes to ſee an end of their misfortunes? *Upon their complaining* of the greedineſs of the magiſtracy of Rome, and railing at the

quod

*quod in eo auxilii nihil eſſet; miſeriis ſuis remedium mortem expectare; at ego,* inquit, *vobis, ſi modo viri eſſe vultis, rationem oſtendam, qua tanta mala iſta effugiatis.* Hæc ubi dixit; Allobroges, in ſpem maxumam adducti, Umbrenum orare, *uti ſui miſereretur. Nihil tam aſperum, neque tam difficile eſſe, quod non cupidiſſime facturi eſſent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret.* Ille eos in domum Decimi Bruti perducit; quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena conſilii, propter Semproniam. Nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Præterea Gabinium accerſit, quo major auctoritas ſermoni ineſſet. Eo præſente conjurationem aperit, nominat ſocios, præterea multos cujuſque generis innoxios; quo legatis animus amplior eſſet: Dein eos pollicitos operam ſuam, domum dimittit.

ſenate for giving them no relief; and ſaying that they expected death muſt be the only cure for their miſery: but, *ſays he*, if you will act like men, I'll ſhew you a way how to get rid of all your misfortunes. *The Allobroges hearing this from him, and thereupon conceiving mighty hopes, begged of Umbrenus* to take pity of them. There was, *they ſaid*, nothing ſo harſh or ſo difficult, they would not gladly do, to eaſe their ſtate of ſuch a vaſt load of debt. *He carries them to the houſe of D. Brutus, becauſe it was nigh the forum, and the family no ill-wiſhers to the deſign, through Sempronia. For Brutus was at that time abſent from Rome. Umbrenus ſends too for Gabinius, to give the greater weight to what he ſhould ſay. After he came, he diſcovered the plot to them, names thoſe that were concerned in it, and a great many more of all ranks that were not, to beget in the ambaſſadors a better liking of the buſineſs. Upon promiſing their aſſiſtance, Umbrenus diſmiſſed them.*

XLII. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam conſilii caperent. In altera parte erat æs alienum, ſtudium belli, magna merces in ſpe victoriæ. At in altera majores opes, tuta conſilia, pro incerta ſpe certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q.

XLII. *But the Allobroges were a long time in doubt what courſe to take. On one ſide were their debts, an inclination to war, and great advantage to be hoped for from a victory. But on the other, greater benefit to themſelves, ſafe meaſures, certain rewards inſtead of uncertain hopes. After they had muſed ſome time upon the matter, at laſt the fortune of Rome prevailed. Accordingly they diſcover*

Fabio

Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam conſilio cognito, legatis præcipit, ut ſtudium conjurationis vehementer ſimulent; cæteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, ut eos quam maxume manifeſtos habeant.

*the whole affair, as they had heard it, to Quintus Fabius Sanga, whoſe patronage the ſtate of the Allobroges much uſed. Cicero underſtanding the matter from Sanga, orders the ambaſſadors to pretend a huge liking and zeal for the conſpiracy, to get into the company of the reſt of thoſe concerned in it, promiſe their utmoſt aſſiſtance, and endeavour to have as plain and ample proof againſt them as poſſible.*

XLIII. Iiſdem fere temporibus, in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Brutio, Apulia motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiſerat, inconſulte, ac veluti per dementiam, cuncta ſimul agere. Nocturnis conſiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, feſtinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris, quam periculi, effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer prætor, ex S C. cauſſa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in citeriore Gallia C. Muræna, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIII. *About the ſame time, there was great buſtle in hither and further Gaul, as alſo in the country of Picene, the Brutii, and Apulia. For thoſe whom Catiline had diſpatched thither, inconſiderately and madly acted all things at once; and by their night aſſemblies, the carriage of arms up and down, and huge hurry, and haſty action, cauſed more of fright than danger. A great many of them the prætor Q. Metellus Celer, as impowered by the authority of the ſenate, tried, and clapt in chains; as likewiſe did C. Muræna in hither Gaul, who preſided as deputy-governor over that province.*

XLIV. At Romæ Lentulus cum cæteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, uti videbatur, magnis copiis, conſtituerat, uti, cum Catilina in agrum Fæſulanum cum exercitu veniſſet, L. Beſtia tribunus plebis

XLIV. *But at Rome, Lentulus, with the other ringleaders of the conſpiracy, having provided, as they thought, a ſufficient force, reſolved, that, as ſoon as Catiline was come with his army into the country of Fæſulæ, L. Beſtia Tribune of the commons, ſhould call the people together, and complain*

plebis

plebis, concione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique graviſſumi invidiam optumo conſuli imponeret; eo ſigno, proxuma nocte cætera multitudo conjurationis ſuum quiſque negotium exſequeretur. Sed ea diviſa hoc modo dicebantur. Statilius & Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim ſimul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad conſulem cæteroſque, quibus inſidiæ parabantur, fieret. Cethegus Ciceronis januam obſideret, eumque vi aggrederetur, alius autem alium. Sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentes interficerent; ſimul, cæde & incendio perculſis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta, Cethegus ſemper querebatur *de ignavia ſociorum: Illos, dubitando & dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non conſulto, in tali periculo, opus eſſe: Seque, ſi pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum.* Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat: Maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

*of Cicero's proceedings, and lay the odium of ſo dangerous a war upon the beſt of conſuls: and that, upon this ſignal, the night following, the reſt of the conſpiracy ſhould every one mind the proper buſineſs aſſigned them; which was as follows. Statilius and Gabinius, attended with a conſiderable body of men, were to fire the city, in twelve places the moſt convenient for their purpoſe, that in the confuſion occaſioned thereby, they might the more eaſily come at the conſuls, and others they deſigned to aſſaſſinate. Cethegus was to ſecure the entrance into Cicero's houſe, and fall upon him, whilſt others were elſewhere employed in the like wicked deſigns. Then young gentlemen, the greateſt part of which were of noble families, were to kill their fathers and during the diſtraction of the town, from the maſſacre and the fire together, they were all to ſally out, and march off to Catiline. In the midſt of theſe preparations and reſolves, Cethegus was continually complaining* of the backwardneſs of the reſt, That they b[y] their heſitation and delay ruined [a] very hopeful cauſe; that in an enterprize of ſo much danger, there was, *he ſaid*, more occaſion fo[r] action than debate; and that fo[r] his part, he was ready, if a fe[w] only would but ſtand by him, l[et] the reſt ſleep if they would, t[o] attack the ſenate. *Cethegus wa[s] naturally of a daring violent ſpiri[t] and thought the ſucceſs of the[ir] cauſe depended upon puſhing [it] with vigour.*

XLV

XLV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium cæteros conveniunt: ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Caſſio poſtulant jusjurandum, quod ſignatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli poſſe. Cæteri nihil ſuſpicantes dant. Caſſius ſemet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiſcitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quendam Crotonienſem mittit, uti Allobroges, prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data atque accepta fide, ſocietatem confirmarent. Ipſe Volturcio literas ad Catilinam dat; quarum exemplum infra ſcriptum eſt.

*Quis ſim, ex eo, quem ad te miſi, cognoſces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate ſis, & memineris, te virum eſſe. Conſideres, quod tuæ rationes poſtulent. Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.* Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat; *cum ab ſenatu hoſtis judicatus ſit, quo conſilio ſervitia repudiet. In urbe parata eſſe, quæ juſſerit. Ne cunctetur ipſe propius accedere.*

XLV. *But the Allobroges, according to Cicero's inſtructions, procured by Gabinius's means, a meeting with the reſt of the conſpirators, at which they inſiſted upon an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius and Caſſius, under their hands and ſeals, to carry to their maſters at home, pretending it would be otherwiſe impoſſible to engage them in an affair of ſo great importance; which the reſt, having no ſuſpicion of their deſign in it, readily granted. But Caſſius aſſured them he would be in their country very ſpeedily, and accordingly left the town a little before the ambaſſadors. Lentulus ſent along with them one T. Volturcius of Croton, that they might further ratify what had been agreed on, with Catiline himſelf, before they went home; and gave Volturcius a letter for Catiline, a copy of which follows.*

You will underſtand who I am that write to you, by the bearer. Conſider the calamitous circumſtances you are in, and remember you are a man; and conſider further too what your cauſe requires. Seek aſſiſtance from people of all conditions, even the meaneſt. *He moreover inſtructed Volturcius to aſk him,* ſince he was declared an enemy by the ſenate, what he meant by refuſing to accept of the aſſiſtance of ſlaves. That all things in town were ready according to his order; and therefore that he ſhould not delay to advance forthwith.

XLVI.

XLVI. His rebus ita actis, conſtituta nocte qua proficiſcerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco & C. Pomtino prætoribus imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio per inſidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant. Rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur. Cætera, uti facto opus ſit, ita agant. Homines militares, ſine tumultu præſidiis collocatis, ſicuti præceptum erat, occulte pontem obſidunt. Poſtquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt, ſimul utrimque clamor exortus eſt. Galli cito cognito conſilio, ſine mora prætoribus ſe tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus cæteros, gladio ſe a multitudine defendit; dein, ubi a legatis deſertus eſt, multa prius de ſalute ſua Pomtinum obteſtatus, quod ei notus erat; poſtremo timidus ac vitæ diffidens, velut hoſtibus, ſeſe prætoribus dedit.

XLVI. *Upon this, the night being fix'd for the departure of the ambaſſadors, Cicero being informed by them of all that had paſſed, orders the prætors, L. Valerius Flaccus, and C. Pomtinus, to go and lie in wait for the ambaſſadors at the Mulvian bridge, acquainting them at the ſame time with the whole affair, and leaving the management to their diſcretion. Theſe gentlemen having been in the military ſervice, according to their orders, without any buſtle, plant themſelves with an armed force nigh the bridge, and lie ſnug there 'till the arrival of Volturcius with the ambaſſadors; upon which a ſhout was ſet up on both ſides. The Gauls quickly underſtanding the matter, immediately ſurrender themſelves up to the prætors. Volturcius at firſt calling upon his men to ſtand by him, drew his ſword in his defence; but being deſerted by the ambaſſadors, he begged hard of Pomtinus, with whom he had had an acquaintance, to ſpare his life, and then in great fright and deſpair, ſurrendered himſelf to the prætors, as if they had been enemies.*

XLVII. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios conſuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia ſimul occupavere. Lætabatur intelligens, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam eſſe: porro autem anxius erat, in max-

XLVII. *An account of this affair was immediately carried to the conſul, who was thereupon full of concern and joy all at once. He was glad to think, that by ſo full a diſcovery of the plot, the city now was delivered from the danger it had been in; and then again, as the perſons concerned in the villany, were of the higheſt*

maxumo ſcelere tantis civibus deprehenſis, quid facto opus eſſet; pœnam illorum ſibi oneri, impunitatem perdundæ reipublicæ fore credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad ſeſe jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque Cœparium Terracinenſem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda ſervitia proficiſci parabat. Cæteri ſine mora veniunt. Cœparius, paullo ante domo egreſſus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Conſul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipſe manu tenens, in ſenatum perducit; reliquos cum cuſtodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet. Eo ſenatum advocat, magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcium dum legatis introducit; Flaccum prætorem ſcrinium cum literis quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVIII. Volturcius interrogatus *de itinere*, *de literis*, *poſtremo quid*, *aut qua de cauſſa*, *conſilii habuiſſet*; primo fingere alia omnia, diſſimulare de conjuratione; poſt, ubi fide publica dicere juſſus eſt, omnia, uti *geſta erant*, *aperit*, *docetq*; *ſe paucis ante diebus a Gabinio & Cœpario ſocium aſcitum: nihil amplius ſcire*, *quam*

*rank and quality*, *he was in ſome doubt with himſelf how to proceed againſt them. The puniſhment of them might fall heavy upon himſelf he thought*, *and to let them paſs unpuniſhed would be ruinous to the publick. Wherefore taking courage*, *he orders Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *and Gabinius*, *to be ſummoned before him*, *as alſo Cœparius of Terracina*, *who was upon the point of going into Apulia*, *to raiſe the ſlaves there. The reſt of them came immediately. Cœparius being gone from home a little before the ſummons came*, *and having ſome notice of the buſineſs*, *had ſlipt out of town. The conſul taking Lentulus by the hand*, *becauſe he was a prætor*, *conducts him into the ſenate-houſe*; *and orders the reſt under a guard to repair to the temple of Concord. Thither he ſummons the ſenate*, *and there being a full houſe upon the occaſion*, *he introduces Volturcius with the embaſſadors*, *and orders the prætor Flaccus to bring in a box with the letters*, *which he had from the embaſſadors.*

XLVIII. *Volturcius being queſtioned* about his journey, and the letters, and what his deſign was, or upon what account he had undertaken the journey, *at firſt made uſe of ſome idle pretences*, *without ſaying a word of the conſpiracy. But being aſſured upon the publick faith of his pardon*, *if he would declare the truth*, *he made a full diſcovery of all*; *and told them* that a few days before he had been drawn in by Gabinius and Cœpa-

*legatos*; *tantummodo audire ſolitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Varguntejum, multos præterea in ea conjuratione eſſe.* Eadem Galli fatentur. At Lentulum diſſimulantem coarguunt, præter literas, ſermonibus, quos ille habere ſolitus erat, *ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi. Cinnam atque Sullam antea, ſe tertium eſſe, cui fatum foret urbis potiri*; *præterea ab incenſo Capitolio illum eſſe vigeſimum annum, quem ſæpe ex prodigiis haruſpices reſpondiſſent bello civili cruentum fore.* Igitur perlectis literis, cum prius omnes ſigna ſua cognoviſſent, ſenatus decernit, *uti, abdicato magiſtratu, Lentulus itemque cæteri in liberis cuſtodiis habeantur.* Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæſari, Gabinius M. Craſſo, Cœparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio ſenatori, traduntur.

rius to join in the conſpiracy; that he knew no more than the embaſſadors; he only uſed to hear of Gabinius, that P. Autronius, Ser. Sulla, and L. Varguntejus, with many others, were concerued in the plot. *The Gauls confirmed what he ſaid*; *and charged Lentulus, who pretended to know nothing of the matter, not only with his letters, but with ſome things he was uſed to ſay in converſation, as* that there was a prophecy in the books of the Sibyls, that three of of the Cornelian family ſhould be maſters of Rome, two of which, Cinna and Sulla, had already been ſo; ſo that he was the third, for which that honour was reſerved by the fates; beſides, that was the twentieth year from the burning of the Capitol, which the haruſpices, from divers prodigies, had often foretold would be remarkable for a bloody civil war. *Upon this the letters were read, after each of the writers had owned his Seal*; *and the ſenate voted*, that Lentulus ſhould abdicate his office, and that both he and the reſt ſhould be ſecured in the cuſtody of gentlemen. *Accordingly Lentulus is delevered up to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was at that time ædile, Cethegus to Quincus Cornificius, Statilius to Caius Cæſar, Gabinius to Mark Craſſus Cœparius (for he had been fetched back to town a little before) to Cn Terintius a ſenator.*

XLIX. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quæ primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat

XLIX. *In the mean time the common people, who, upon the firſt diſcovery of the plot, from the love of novelty, had too much favoured*

vebat, mutata mente, Catilinæ conſilia exſecrari; Ciceronem ad cœlum tollere; velut ex ſervitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiam agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis, quam detrimento, fore: incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac ſibi maxume calamitoſum putabat; quippe cui omnes copiæ in uſu quotidiano & cultu corporis erant. Poſt eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad ſenatum adductus erat, quem, ad Catilinam proficiſcentem, ex itinere retractum ajebant. Is cum ſe diceret de conjuratione indicaturum, ſi fides publica data eſſet; juſſus a conſule, quæ ſciret, edicere, eadem fere, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hoſtium, ſenatum edocet. Præterea, *ſe miſſum a M. Craſſo, qui Catilinæ nunciaret; ne eum Lentulus & Cethegus, aliique ex conjuratione deprehenſi terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo & cæterorum animos reficeret, & illi facilius e periculo eriperentur.* Sed, ubi Tarquinius Craſſum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, ſumma potentia; alii

*the war, now changing their minds, began to curſe the deſigns of Catiline, and to extol Cicero to the heavens; and, as being now ſecured againſt the ſlavery they were threatened with, were full of joy and jollity. For the other acts of war they thought might turn more to their advantage than detriment; but the firing of the town they looked upon as a cruel wild project, and what would have been pernicious to them eſpecially, whoſe ſubſtance conſiſted entirely in cloaths and a few houſhold goods. After this, one Lucius Tarquinius was brought before the ſenate, who was ſaid to be going over to Catiline, and had been therefore brought back to town. He offered to make a full diſcovery of the plot, if he might have the publick faith for his pardon; and being thereupon ordered by the conſul to declare what he knew, he gave much the ſame information Volturcius had done, as to firing of the town, the deſigned maſſacre, and the march of the enemy. He added,* that he had been diſpatched by M. Craſſus to tell Catiline not to be frighted at the ſeizing of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conſpirators, but make the more haſte to town, for the encouragement of the reſt, and for the releaſe of thoſe that were priſoners. *But when Tarquin named Craſſus, a perſon of the higheſt quality, a vaſt eſtate, and mighty power; ſome looking upon what was ſaid as incredible, and others, though they believed it true, yet becauſe ſo powerful a man was rather to be wheedled*

alii rem incredibilem rati; pars, tametſi verum exiſtumabat, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda, quam exagitanda, videbatur, plerique, Craſſo ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant, *indicem falſum eſſe*; deque ea re poſtulant uti referatur. Itaque, Cicerone conſulente, frequens ſenatus decernit. *Tarquinii indicium falſum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum; neque amplius poteſtatem faciundam, niſi de eo indicaret, cujus conſilio tantam rem eſſet mentitus.* Erant eo tempore, qui exiſtumarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum; quo facilius, appellato Craſſo, per ſocietatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immiſſum ajebant; ne Craſſus, more ſuo, ſuſcepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipſum Craſſum ego poſtea prædicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam ſibi ab Cicerone impoſitam. Sed iiſdem temporibus Q. Catulus & C. Piſo neque gratia, neque precio Ciceronem impellere quivere; uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Cæſar falſo nominaretu

*than provoked at ſuch a juncture, being moſt of them too under particular obligations to Craſſus, they all cried out* the informer was a raſcal, *and deſired the houſe might immediately go upon that affair. Which Cicero complying with, and moving the houſe accordingly, they voted by a great majority,* That Tarquin's information appeared to them to be falſe, and that he be kept in cuſtody, and not be enlarged, 'till He diſcovered the perſon at whoſe inſtigation he had forged that lie. *There were ſome at that time, who did believe that the thing was a project of Publius Autronius, in order to ſcreen the conſpirators, by naming Craſſus as one. Some ſaid Tarquin was put upon it by Cicero, leſt Craſſus ſhould, according to his way, take upon him the protection of the villains, and thereby confound the proceedings of the government againſt them. And I myſelf afterwards heard Craſſu ſay, that that baſe trick had been put upon him by Cicero. But a the ſame time Q. Catulus and C Piſo could by no intereſt, importunity, or money, prevail upon Cicero to have Cæſar falſely name as a conſpirator, by the Allobroges or any one elſe. Both thoſe gentlemen were bitter enemies to him Piſo having been proſecuted by hi in an action of damages, for th unjuſt puniſhment of a certain per ſon of Gallia beyond the Po. Ca tulus bore him a grudge, ever af ter the time of his ſtanding for th place of high-prieſt, when he, th a man in years, that had borne th greateſt offices in the ſtate, ca*

minaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piſo, oppugnatus in judicio repetundarum, propter cujuſdam Tranſpadani ſupplicium injuſtum; Catulus, ex petitione pontificatus odio incenſus; quod extrema ætate, maxumis honoribus uſus, ab adoleſcentulo Cæſare victus diſceſſerat. Res autem opportuna videbatur; quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi conſulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipſi ſingillatim circumeundo, atque ementiendo quæ ſe ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audiſſe dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; uſque adeo, uti nonnulli equites Rom. qui præſidii cauſſa cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, ſeu periculi magnitudine, ſeu animi nobilitate impulſi, quo ſtudium ſuum in rempublicam clarius eſſet, egredienti ex ſenatu Cæſari gladio minitarentur. Dum hæc in ſenatu aguntur, & dum legatis Allobrogum & T. Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur, liberti & pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diverſis itineribus,

*off baffled by Cæſar, who was at that time but a very young man. The charge ſeemed likely to paſs, becauſe he by his private generoſity, and publick diverſions, for the entertainment of the people, was got into a world of debt. But being not able to engage the conſul in ſuch a piece of roguery, they by going about, and falſely reporting what they pretended to have heard from Volturcius and the Allobroges, brought him under a very great odium, inſomuch that ſome gentlemen of the equeſtrian order, who were poſted in arms about the temple of Concord, as a guard to the houſe, whether puſhed on by a ſenſe of danger, or ſome nobler motive, to ſhew their zeal for the publick, threatened Cæſar at his coming out of the houſe with their drawn ſwords. Whilſt theſe things are done in the ſenate, and rewards are voted for the Allobroges and T. Volturcius, whoſe information was approved of; ſome freed-men and clients of Lentulus diſperſed themſelves in town, and endeavoured to engage the workmen and ſlaves they met with in the ſtreets, to reſcue him. And ſome would gladly have prevailed with the leaders of the mob to head them, who were uſed for hire to give diſturbance now and then to the government. But Cethegus by meſſengers begged of his ſlaves and freed-men choice blades, and ſuch as had been trained up in the practice of bold wicked pranks, to form themſelves into a body, and break in to him with arms. The conſul being informed*

 opi-

opifices atque ſervitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum ſollicitabant. Partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui precio rempublicam vexare ſoliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuncios familiam, atque libertos ſuos, lectos & exercitatos in audaciam, orabat; uti, grege facto, cum telis ad ſeſe irrumperent. Conſul, ubi ea parari cognovit, diſpoſitis præſidiis, uti res atq; tempus monebat, convocato ſenatu refert, *quid de his fieri placeat, qui in cuſtodiam traditi erant.* Sed eos paulo ante frequens ſenatus judicaverat contra rempublicam feciſſe. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus ſententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore conſul deſignatus erat, de his, qui in cuſtodiis tenebantur, & præterea de L. Caſſio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, ſi deprehenſi forent, ſupplicium ſumendum decreverat. Iſque poſtea, permotus oratione C. Cæſaris, pedibus in ſententiam Ti. Neronis iturum ſe dixerat, quod de ea re, præſidiis additis, referundum cenſuerat. Sed Cæſar, ubi ad eum ventum eſt, rogatus ſententiam a conſule, hujuſcemodi verba locutus eſt.

*of theſe attempts, placed guards as the occaſion required, and then calling the ſenate together, deſired to know their pleaſure* with relation to the priſoners, what they would have done with them. *A full houſe had already voted them guilty of a traiterous deſign againſt the government. Then D. Junius Silanus being firſt aſked what he thought of the matter, for he was at that time conſul elect, declared for capital puniſhment to be inflicted upon thoſe in cuſtody, as alſo L. Caſſius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annius, if they ſhould be taken. But being afterwards much affected with a ſpeech of C. Cæſar to the houſe, he declared for the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who was for having the further debate of that matter deferred, 'till the houſe was provided with a better guard. Now Cæſar, when the conſul was come to him, and deſired his ſentiments, ſpoke to the effect following.*

Cæsar.

L. *Omnis homines, patres conſcripti, qui de rebus dubiis conſultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira, atque miſericordia vacuos eſſe decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt; neque quiſquam omnium lubidini ſimul & uſui paruit. Ubi inten-*

L. Illuſtrious fathers, all men in their debates upon matters of difficulty, ought to be free from the paſſions of hatred, love, anger, and pity. The mind of man does not eaſily ſee the truth where thoſe obſtructions are in the way; nor has ever any man been able to conſult his intereſt and his paſſion together. Where the underſtand-

deri:

*deris ingenium, valet. Si lubido poſſidet, ea dominatur; animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia eſt memorandi, P. C, qui reges aut qui populi, ira aut miſericordia impulſi, male conſuluerint. Sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores noſtri, contra lubidinem animi ſui, recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perſe geſſimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Rom. opibus creverat, infida atque advorſa nobis fuit. Sed poſtquam bello confecto, de Rhodiis conſultum eſt, majores noſtri, ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriæ cauſſa, bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimiſere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum ſæpe Carthaginienſes & in pace & per inducias multa nefanda facinora feciſſent, nunquam ipſi per occaſionem talia fecere; magis, quod ſe dignum foret, quam quod in illos jure fieri poſſet, quærebant. Hoc item vobis providendum eſt, P. C. ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli & cæterorum ſcelus, quam veſtra dignitas; neu magis iræ veſtræ, quam famæ, conſulatis. Nam ſi digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum*

ing is in any caſe duly applied, it does its work effectually. But if paſſion of any kind poſſeſſes the mind, that rules, a man's ſenſe or parts ſignify nothing. I could bring many inſtances of kings and ſtates, that have by anger or pity been led into pernicious miſtakes. But I chuſe rather to take notice to you of the behaviour of our anceſtors, wherein they ſhewed a noble ſelf-denial. In the Macedonian war, which we had with king Perſes, the Rhodians, a great and flouriſhing people, who had been raiſed by the ſupport of the Romans, proved baſe and treacherous to us. Yet when, upon the concluſion of the war, the caſe of the Rhodians came under conſideration, our anceſtors, to leave no pretence for ſaying that the war had been undertaken out of a covetous humour, more than upon account of injury received, pardoned them. In all the Carthaginian wars too, tho' that people in time of peace, or ceſſation of arms, had been guilty of many wicked things againſt us, yet our anceſtors never upon any occaſion returned them the like uſage, regarding more what was worthy of themſelves, than what might have been fairly practiſed againſt them. And in like manner ought you, gentlemen, to take care, that the wickedneſs of Lentulus and the reſt of the conſpirators, have not more influence upon you than your own honour, and not gratify your reſentment at the expence of your reputation. For if a puniſhment equal to their crime be

*conſilium approbo. Sin magnitudo ſceleris omnium ingenia exſuperat; iis utendum cenſeo, quæ legibus comparata ſunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me ſententias dixerunt, compoſite atque magnifice caſum reipublicæ miſerati ſunt; quæ belli ſævitia eſſet, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collibuiſſent; fana atque domos exſpoliari; cædem, incendia fieri; poſtremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? An, uti vos infeſtos conjurationi facerent? Scilicet, quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet. Non ita eſt. Neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ ſuæ parvæ videntur. Multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia eſt, P. C. Qui demiſſi in obſcuro vitam agunt, ſi quid iracundia deliquere, pauci ſciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares ſunt. Qui magno imperio præditi, in excelſo ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma li-*

poſſible to bé found, I approve of the ſtrange advice given. But if the greatneſs of their villainy be ſuch, as to puzzle the beſt invention to find out a puniſhment equal to it, I think we ought to content ourſelves with ſuch as are provided by law. Moſt of the gentlemen that ſpoke before me have very elegantly and nobly lamented the misfortune of the commonwealth; have enumerated all the cruel conſequences of a war, and the miſerable circumſtances the vanquiſhed party muſt needs be in; ſuch as the raviſhing of virgins, the unnatural abuſe of boys, the tearing away of children from the embraces of their parents, the expoſing of matrons to the luſt of the conquerors, the plundering of temples and houſes, ſlaughter, the firing of towns; and finally, the filling of all places with arms, dead bodies, blood, and lamentation. But, for heaven's ſake, what does all that way of talking tend to? to incenſe you againſt the conſpiracy? Words, I warrant, will inflame thoſe whom ſo monſtrous and villainous a crime cannot move. No, no. No man is apt to under-rate the injuries done to himſelf. Many aggravate them beyond all reaſon. But all men have not the ſame liberty allowed them. If perſons in low life, through paſſion, are guilty of any miſdonduct, few know of it; the fame and fortunes of ſuch men are generally equal. But thoſe in great power and authority, ſtand high, and their actions are known to all men. Thus in the greateſt

*centia eſt. Neque ſtudere, neque odiſſe, ſed minume iraſci decet. Quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio ſuperbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego ſic exiſtumo, P. C. omnis cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, eſſe. Sed plerique mortales poſtrema meminere; & in hominibus impiis, ſceleris eorum obliti, de pœna diſſerunt, ſi ea paulo ſeverior fuerit. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque ſtrenuum, certo ſcio, quæ dixerit, ſtudio reipublicæ dixiſſe, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere. Eos mores eamque modeſtiam viri cognovi. Verum ſententia ejus mihi non crudelis, (quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri poteſt?) ſed aliena a republica noſtra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te ſubegit, Silane, conſulem deſignatum, genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore ſupervacaneum eſt diſſerere; cum, præſertim diligentia clariſſumi viri conſulis, tanta præſidia ſint in armis. De pœna poſſumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miſeriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum eſſe; eam cunc-*

fortune is there the leaſt licence allowable. In that there muſt be no party-prejudice, or hatred, and paſſion leaſt of all. What is called anger upon other occaſions, in perſons inveſted with great power, goes by the name of pride and cruelty. Truly, gentlemen, I am of opinion, that no puniſhment can be thought of bad enough for their crimes. But moſt men remember the upſhot of things, and in the caſe of villains, forgetting their wickedneſs, talk only of their puniſhment, if that be a little too ſevere. I am well aſſured that the worthy brave gentleman D. Silanus ſaid what he did out of zeal to the publick ſervice, without the leaſt regard to favour, or ill-will to any one: ſuch is his virtue and modeſty to my knowledge. But his advice appears to me, not cruel indeed, (for what can be cruel againſt ſuch wretches?) but not agreeable to the proceedings of our government. For certainly, Silanus, either your fear, or the injury deſigned the publick, moved you to adviſe a puniſhment unknown to our laws. As to your fear, I need ſay nothing, eſpecially ſince, by the diligence of our glorious conſul, ſo ſufficient a force has been provided for our ſecurity. And as to the puniſhment, we may ſay indeed, what is the truth in reality, that in a ſtate of mourning and miſery, death is a deliverance, not a puniſhment. That puts an end to all the miſeries of mankind, beyond which there is no room for either ſorrow or joy, But by heaven, tell me why did

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*ta mortalium mala diſſolvere; ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum eſſe. Sed, per deos immortalis, quamobrem in ſententiam non addidiſti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? An, quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliæ leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, ſed exilium permitti jubent. An quia gravius eſt verberari, quam necari? Quid autem acerbum, aut nimis grave eſt in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin, quia levius eſt; qui convenit in minore negotio legem obſervare, cum eam in majore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicæ decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet, quicquid evenerit. Cæterum vos, P. C. quid in alios ſtatuatis, conſiderate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta ſunt. Sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit; novum illud exemplum ab dignis & idoneis ad indignos & non idoneos transfertur.*

you not adviſe too to have them ſeverely laſhed, before they were put to death? Was it becauſe the Porcian law expreſly forbids it? But there are other laws too, that equally forbid the putting a condemned Roman to death, and allow him the favour of baniſhment. Or was it becauſe whipping is a ſeverer puniſhment than death? But what can be too cruel or ſevere againſt men convicted of ſo horrid a villainy? But if it was becauſe whipping is really a leſſer puniſhment, is it fit to regard the law in a matter of ſmaller moment, whilſt you ſlight it in a greater? But who will blame, you'll ſay, what ſhall be reſolved upon againſt men bent upon the deſtruction of the commonwealth? Time and fortune, who rule the world at pleaſure. They certainly deſerve the worſt that can befall them. But do you, worthy fathers, conſider well what you reſolve upon againſt them. All ill examples had their riſe from harmleſs beginning. But when power comes into the hands of ignorant or wicked men, the precedent ſet is transferred from deſerving and proper objects to ſuch as are not ſo.

LI. *Lacedæmonii, devictis Athenienſibus, triginta viros impoſuere, qui rempublicam tractarent. Hi primo cœpere peſſumum quemque & omnibus inviſum indemnatum necare. Eo populus lætari,*

LI. After the Lacedemonians had conquered the Athenians, they lodged the government in the hands of thirty perſons; who at firſt began to put to death, without tryal, the wickedeſt amongſt them, and ſuch as were univerſally odious. This the people re-

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*& merito dicere fieri. Poſt, ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos & malos lubidinoſe interficere, cæteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, ſervitute oppreſſa, ſtultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Noſtra memoria victor Sulla, cum Damaſippum & alios hujuſmodi, qui malo reipublicæ creverant, jugulari juſſit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? Homines ſceleſtos & factioſos, qui ſeditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos ajebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Namque, uti quiſque domum aut villam, poſtremo aut vas aut veſtimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti is in proſcriptorum numero eſſet. Ita illi, quibus Damaſippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, paulo poſt ipſi trahebantur. Neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis ſuos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hoc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor. Sed in magna civitate multa & varia ingenia ſunt. Poteſt alio tempore, alio conſule, cui item exercitus in manu ſit, falſum aliquid pro vero credi. Ubi hoc exemplo, per ſenati decretum, conſul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem ſtatuet, aut quis moderabitur?*

joiced at, and ſaid was right proceeding. But preſently, as this humour grew upon them, they proceeded to put good and bad promiſcuouſly to death at their pleaſure, and filled the reſt with apprehenſions of the like uſage. Thus the poor city being miſerably enſlaved ſuffered ſufficiently for their ſilly rejoicing. In our times too, when Sulla, after his ſucceſs in the war, ordered Damaſippus, and ſome others like him, who had raiſed themſelves by the misfortunes of their country, to be put to death, who did not commend him for it? Every body ſaid, that thoſe wicked factious raſcals, who had plagued the publick by their ſeditious practices, were deſervedly put to death. But that was the firſt part only acted in one of the moſt bloody ſcenes that ever was. For, as any of the party chanced to take a fancy for any gentleman's houſe in town or country, nay but any piece of plate, or fine coat, he took care to get him put upon the liſt of the proſcribed. Thus they who rejoiced at the death of Damaſippus were themſelves ſoon after hurried away to execution. Nor was there any end of this butchery, 'till Sulla had glutted all his followers with riches. I apprehend indeed nothing like this in Mark Tully, or theſe times. But in a mighty ſtate there are many various humours. At another time, another conſul, who ſhall have an army at his command, may be under a miſtake; and then, when upon this precedent the conſul ſhall by a vote of the ſenate draw the ſword, who ſhall ſtop, or over-rule it?

LII.

LII. *Majores noſtri, Patres conſcripti, neque conſilii neque audaciæ unquam eguere. Neque ſuperbia obſtabat, quo minus inſtituta aliena, ſi modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, inſignia magiſtratuum ab Tuſcis pleraque ſumpſerunt. Poſtremo, quod ubique apud ſocios aut hoſtis idoneum videbatur, cum ſummo ſtudio domi exſequebantur. Imitari, quam invidere bonis, malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvertebant in civis, de condemnatis ſummum ſupplicium ſumebant. Poſtquam reſpublica adolevit, & multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumvenire innocentes, alia hujuſcemodi fieri cœpere; tum lex Porcia, aliæque leges paratæ ſunt; quibus legibus exilium damnatis permiſſum eſt. Hanc ego cauſſam, P. C. quo minus conſilium novum capiamum, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque ſapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, & augeri exercitum Catilinæ? Minume.*

LII. Our fore-elders, worthy fathers, never wanted either conduct or courage; nor did a ſpirit of pride hinder them from imitating the laudable cuſtoms of other nations. They borrowed from the Samnites arms and weapons of war, moſt of the ornaments of our magiſtrates from the Tuſcans. In fine, they ſtudiouſly put in practice at home whatſoever appeared, either amongſt friends or foes, worthy of their reception. They choſe rather to imitate than envy the good. Now at that time, according to the uſage of Greece, they uſed to puniſh by ſcourging, and put citizens to death. But when the Roman ſtate was grown up to its full magnitude, and in a numerous people factions prevailed, innocent men began to be trepanned, and other the like wickedneſs to be practiſed; then the Porcian law, and other laws were provided, by which all ſuch as ſhould be condemned for capital crimes were allowed the favour of baniſhmint. And therefore I think this a very ſubſtantial reaſon againſt the new proceedings adviſed to. Certainly their conduct and wiſdom, who from a ſmall riſe produced ſo vaſt an empire, was far aboue ours, who have much ado to keep what was ſo well provided to our hands. Well, you'll ſay, would I have them diſcharged, to augment Catiline's army? By no means. But my ſentence is this, Let their eſtates be confiſcated, themſelves kept in cloſe cuſtody, in the moſt ſubſtantial boroughs. Let no one

Sea

*Sed ita cenſeo, publicandas eorum pecunias; ipſos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxume opibus valent; neu quis de his poſtea ad ſenatum referat, neve cum populo agat. Qui aliter fecerit, ſenatum exiſtumare, eum contra rempublicam & ſalutem omnium facturum.*

ever move the ſenate, or make the leaſt application to the people in their favour. And let it be declared as the opinion of this houſe, that whoever does is a traitor to his country, and an enemy to the commonwealth.

LIII. Poſtquam Cæſar dicendi finem fecit; cæteri verbo, alius alii varie aſſentiebantur. At M. Porcius Cato, rogatus ſententiam, hujuſcemodi orationem habuit.

LIII. *After Cæſar had made an end of his ſpeech, the reſt ſignified their aſſent, ſome to one and ſome to another. But M. Porcius Cato, being aſked what he thought of the matter, made a ſpeech to the following effect.*

LIV. *Longe mihi alia mens eſt, patres conſcripti, cum res atque pericula noſtra conſidero, & cum ſententias nonnullorum mecum ipſe reputo. Illi mihi diſſeruiſſe videntur de pœna eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis ſuis bellum paravere. Res autem monet, cavere ab illis magis, quam, quid in illos ſtatuamus, conſultare. Nam cætera maleficia tum perſequare, ubi facta ſunt; hoc, niſi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, fruſtra judicia implores. Capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed per deos immortalis, vos ego appello, qui ſemper domos, villas, ſigna, tabulas veſtras pluris, quam rempublicam, feciſtis. Si iſta, cujuſcumque modi ſint, quæ amplexamini,*

LIV. I am, gentlemen, of a quite different opinion from you in this caſe, when I conſider it, and the danger we are in, as alſo the advice that has been offered by ſome. The buſineſs they ſeem alone to have had in view is the puniſhment of thoſe who have formed a deſign to make war upon their country, parents, and religion. Now the nature of the thing obliges us to conſider rather, how we may guard effectually againſt them, than how we are to puniſh them. For other crimes you may puniſh after they are committed; but unleſs you prevent the commiſſion of this, it will be in vain to fly to the law for vengeance. When the city ſhall be taken, the conquered will have nothing left. But, by the immortal gods, I ſpeak to you, who have always had more regard to your fine houſes, ſtatues, and pictures, than the welfare of your country. If you have a mind to keep the things, be they what they

Cato.

*reti-*

*retinere, ſi voluptatibus veſtris otium præbere vultis; expergiſcemini aliquando, & capeſſite rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de ſociorum injuriis. Libertas & anima noſtra in dubio eſt. Sæpenumero, P. C. multa verba in hoc ordine feci. Sæpe de luxuria atque avaritia noſtrorum civium queſtus ſum. Multoſque mortalis ea cauſſa adverſos habeo. Qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam feciſſem, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tametſi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen reſpublica firma erat. Opulentia negligentiam toleravit. Nunc vero non id agitur, boniſque an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani ſit; ſed hæc, cujuſcumque modi videntur, noſtra, an nobiſcum una hoſtium futura ſint.*

will, you are ſo fond of and to find time for the purſuit of your pleaſures; rouze at laſt, and ſtand up for the defence of your country. We are not now treating of the revenue of the ſtate, or the ill uſage of our allies. Our liberty, our lives are at ſtake. I have, gentlemen, ſpoke often and much in this houſe. I have often complained of the extravagance and avarice that prevail amongſt us; and have, by ſo doing, made myſelf many enemies. Now I, who would never indulge myſelf in the leaſt fault, could not eaſily pardon the crimes of others. But though you minded little what I ſaid, yet our country was ſecure. Our great opulence would admit of ſome negligence in the management of our affairs. But a reformation of manners, or the aggrandizing the ſtate, is not the buſineſs we have now under conſideration; but whether what we enjoy, be it what it will, ſhould be our own, or, together with ourſelves, be delivered up a prey to the enemy.

LV. *Hic mihi quiſquam manſuetudinem & miſericordiam nominat? Jampridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amiſimus. Quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur; eo reſpublica in extremo ſita eſt. Sint ſane, quoniam*

LV. And ſhall any one talk to me in this caſe of mildneſs and mercy? We have long ſince indeed loſt the right names of things from amongſt us. The giving of what belongs to other people is called generoſity, and the courage to venture upon wickedneſs is named fortitude; by which means it is, that the ſtate has been brought upon the very brink of

*ita ſe mores habent, liberales ex ſociorum fortunis. Sint miſericordes in furibus ærarii. Ne illis ſanguinem noſtrum largiantur; &, dum paucis ſceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene & compoſite C. Cæſar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita & morte diſſeruit, credo falſo exiſtumans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur; diverſo itinere malos a bonis loca tætra, inculta, fœda atque formidoloſa habere. Itaque cenſuit, pecunias eorum publicandas, ipſos per municipia in cuſtodiis habendos; videlicet, ne, ſi Romæ ſint, aut a popularibus conjurationis, aut a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quaſi vero mali atque ſceleſti tantummodo in urbe & non per totam Italiam ſint; aut non ibi plus poſſit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores ſunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc conſilium eſt, ſi periculum ex illis metuit: Sin in tanto omnium metu ſolus non timet; eo magis refert, me mihi atque vobis timere.*

LVI. *Quare cum de P. Lentulo cæteriſque ſtatuetis, pro certo habetote, vos ſimul de exercitu Catilinæ, & de omnibus conjuratis decerne-*

deſtruction. Let them, ſince it is now become the faſhion of the times, be generous out of the fortunes of our allies. Let them ſhew compaſſion to the robbers of the publick; but let them not pretend to make a preſent of our blood to them, and by ſparing a few villains bring deſtruction upon all good people. C. Cæſar ſpoke juſt now very handſomely and prettily of life and death, as judging, I preſume, the vulgar notions of hell, where the bad are divided from the good, and confined in naſty, uncomfortable, filthy, diſmal places, to be falſe; and therefore abviſed to confiſcate their eſtates, and keep their perſons under confinement in the boroughs; from an apprehenſion, I ſuppoſe, if they ſhould be kept at Rome, of their being reſcued, either by their fellows, or a hired mob. As if we had raſcals and villains only in town, and not all Italy over; or as if bold attempts would not be more likely to ſucceed, where there was the leaſt ability to oppoſe them. This therefore is very idle advice, if he fears any danger from them; but if he alone is not afraid, whilſt every body elſe is, I am the more obliged to be afraid both for myſelf and you.

LVI. Wherefore, in judging the caſe of Lentulus, you may depend upon it, you determine that of Catiline's army, and the reſt of the conſpirators, at the ſame time. The more vigour you

*re.*

*re. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit. Si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite exiſtumare, majores noſtros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam feciſſe. Si ita res eſſet; multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus. Quippe ſociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum major copia nobis, quam illis, eſt. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere; quæ nobis nulla ſunt. Domi induſtria, foris juſtum imperium; animus in conſulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egeſtatem; privatim opulentiam. Laudamus divitias, ſequimur inertiam. Inter bonos & malos diſcrimen nullum. Omnia virtutis præmia ambitio poſſidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos ſeparatim ſibi quiſque conſilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ aut gratiæ ſervitis; eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjuravere cives nobiliſſumi patriam incendere; Gallorum gentem, infeſtiſſumam nomimi Romano, ad*

act with, the more diſcouraged they will be. But if they ſee you faint-hearted, they will all forthwith advance boldly upon us. Do not think that our forefathers brought the Roman ſtate from a low riſe to its preſent height by their arms. If they had, we ſhould then be in a much more happy ſecure condition than they. For we have more allies and people, as well as more arms and horſes than they. But there were other things which made them great, which we have nothing of. I mean induſtry at home, and juſt management abroad; minds free from the influence of vice and humour in publick councils: in the room of which, we have got luxury and avarice, publick poverty and private wealth. We admire riches, and are in love with idleneſs. We make no diſtinction between the worthy and the worthleſs. Ambition is poſſeſſed of all the rewards of virtue. Nor is it to be wondered at, whilſt you each of you purſue ſeparate meaſures only for your own intereſt; whilſt you mind nothing but your pleaſures at home, and in this place wealth and honour. 'Tis this behaviour of yours that has encouraged the villains to fall upon the abandoned ſtate. But I let theſe things alone. Perſons of the higheſt quality have engaged in a conſpiracy to fire the city, and are endeavouring to bring the Gauls, thoſe mortal enemies of Rome, to join them in a war againſt us. The commander of the enemy is at our gates with an army; and do you

*bellum*

*bellum arceſſunt. Dux hoſtium cum exercitu ſupra caput eſt. Vos cunctamini etiam nunc, & dubitatis, quid, intra mœnia deprehenſis hoſtibus, faciatis? Miſereamini, cenſeo. Deliquere homines adoleſcentuli per ambitionem. Atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Næ iſta vobis manſuetudo & miſericordia, ſi illi arma ceperint, in miſeriam vertet. Scilicet res ipſa aſpera eſt, ſed vos non timetis eam. Imo vero maxume; ſed, inertia & mollitia animi, alius alium expectantes, cunctamini; videlicet diis immortalibus confiſi, qui hanc rempublicam in maxumis ſæpe periculis ſervavere. Non votis, neque ſuppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur. Vigilando, agendo, bene conſulendo proſpere omnia cedunt. Ubi ſocordiæ tete atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam deos implores. Irati infeſtique ſunt. Apud majores noſtros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium ſuum, quod is contra imperium in hoſtem pugnaverat, necari juſſit. Atque ille egregius adoleſcens immoderatæ fortitudinis morte pœnas dedit. Vos de crudeliſſumis parricidis quid ſtatuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet*

pretend to demur upon the matter, or make any doubt what you ought to do with thoſe of the enemy you have catched within your walls? You ſhould take pity of them, I ſuppoſe. They are only young fellows led away by the love of power, and therefore ought to be diſcharged. Truly that mildneſs and mercy, if they get but arms into their hands, will prove your deſtruction. The caſe indeed is very diſmal; but you are notwithſtanding, it ſeems, fearleſs about it. Far from it; but, for want of ſpirit and vigour, you hang back, waiting one another's motions; confiding, I ſuppoſe, in the providence of the immortal gods, who have frequently ſaved this ſtate of ours in the greateſt of dangers. But the aſſiſtance of the gods is not procured by vows and womaniſh prayers. All deſigns ſucceed by vigilance, induſtry, and wiſe counſels. If you give yourſelves up to idleneſs and ſloth, 'tis in vain to invoke the aſſiſtance of the gods. They are angry and enraged at you. In the days of old, Aulus Manlius Torquatus, in the Gallick war, ordered his ſon to be put to death for fighting contrary to his order. Thus was that excellent youth puniſhed for his ill governed courage. You are in doubt what to do with parricides; moved, I ſuppoſe, by the great innocence of their lives before they engaged in this project. Yes, ſhew a regard to the quality of Lentulus, if ever he ſhewed the leaſt to his own chaſtity, or credit, to either gods or men.

*vita cætera eorum huic ſceleri obſtat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli; ſi ipſe pudicitiæ, ſi famæ ſuæ, ſi diis aut hominibus unquam ullis pepercit. Ignoſcite Cethegi adoleſcentiæ, niſi iterum jam patriæ bellum fecit. Nam quid de ego Gabinio, Statilio, Cæpario loquar? Quibus ſi quidquam penſi umquam fuiſſet, non ea conſilia de republica habuiſſent. Poſtremo, patres conſcripti, ſi mehercle peccato locus eſſet, facile paterer vos ipſa re corrigi; quoniam verba contemnitis. Sed undique circumventi ſumus. Catilina cum exercitu in faucibus urget. Alii intra mœnia atque in ſinu urbis ſunt hoſtes. Neque parari neque conſuli quidquam occulte poteſt; quo magis properandum eſt. Quare ita ego cenſeo: cum nefario conſilio ſceleratorum civium reſpublica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii & legatorum Allobrogum convicti, confeſſique ſint, cædem, incendia, aliaq; fœda atq; crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paraviſſe; de confeſſis, ſicuti de manifeſtis rerum capitalium, more majorum ſupplicium ſumendum.*

Pardon the youth of Cethegus, if this be not the ſecond time he has made war upon his country. For what need I ſay any thing of Gabinius, Statilius, and Cœparius? who, if they had had but the leaſt conſideration at all, would never have engaged in ſuch deſigns againſt the publick. Finally, fathers, if there was in this caſe room for miſconduct, I could eaſily ſuffer you to be ſet right by the event, ſince you regard not words. But we are puſhed home on all ſides. Catiline, with an army is juſt upon us. Others of the enemy are within our walls, and in the midſt of the city itſelf. No preparations or conſultations of ours can be concealed from them, and therefore we muſt uſe expedition. Wherefore my ſentence is this: Since the ſtate has been brought into the utmoſt danger by the villainous contrivance of ſome wicked members of it, and theſe have been ſufficiently proved guilty of the ſame, by the evidence of T. Volturcius, and the deputies of the Allobroges, and have confeſſed their being concerned in a deſign to aſſaſſinate divers gentlemen, and fire the city, and to commit various other diſmal and cruel crimes againſt their fellow-citizens and country, my ſentence, I ſay, is, that they be puniſhed according to antient uſage, as being, by their own confeſſion, manifeſtly guilty of crimes worthy of death.

LVII. Poſtquam Cato adſedit; conſulares omnes, itemque ſenati magna pars, ſententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt. Alii alios increpantes timidos vocant. Cato clarus atque magnus habetur. Senati decretum fit, ſicut ille cenſuerat. Sed mihi, multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus domi militiæque, mari atque terra præclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quæ res maxume tanta negotia ſuſtinuiſſet. Sciebam ſæpenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hoſtium contendiſſe. Cognoveram parvis copiis bella geſta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, ſæpe fortunæ violentiam toleraſſe; facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuiſſe. Ac mihi multa agitanti conſtabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patraviſſe; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas ſuperaret. Sed poſtquam luxu atque deſidia civitas corrupta eſt; rurſus reſpublica magnitudine ſua imperatorum atque magiſtratuum vitia ſuſtentabat; ac, veluti effœta parente, multis tempeſtatibus

LVII. *After Cato ſat down, all the conſular gentlemen, with the greateſt part of the reſt, applaud his ſentence, and extol his reſolution to the heavens, upbraiding and calling one another cowards, but magnifying and celebrating Cato for a hero. Accordingly a vote paſſed conformable to his advice. Now, as I have read and heard much of the noble atchievements of the Roman people, both in peace and war, by ſea and by land, I had a mind to make a ſtrict enquiry into the true ſpring of all their mighty ſucceſs. I was ſenſible, they had oftentimes with a handful of men engaged vaſt armies of their enemies. I was not ignorant, they had carried on wars againſt mighty princes with ſmall forces; and beſides, had oftentimes felt the ſevereſt ſtrokes of ill fortune; that the Greeks were ſuperior to them in eloquence, and the Gauls for reputation in war. Upon due conſideration I found, that the prodigious bravery and conduct of a few fine men did all, and was the true cauſe that poverty prevailed againſt riches, and ſmall numbers againſt great. But after the city became debauched with luxury and idleneſs, ſtill the commonwealth, by reaſon of its grandeur, was able to bear up under all the vices of its commanders and magiſtrates; but yet Rome, like a woman effete with the production of a numerous brood, did not for a long time produce ſo much as one man of any extraordinary character. But within the compaſs of my own times, we have*

bus haud ſane quiſquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, diverſis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, & C. Cæſar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, ſilentio præterire non fuit conſilium; quin utriuſque naturam & mores, quantum ingenio poſſem, aperirem. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia prope æqualia fuere. Magnitudo animi par, item gloria; ſed alia alii. Cæſar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitæ Cato. Ille manſuetudine & miſericordia clarus factus; huic ſeveritas dignitatem addiderat. Cæſar dando, ſublevando, ignoſcendo; Cato, nihil largiundo, gloriam adeptus eſt. In altero miſeris perfugium; in altero malis pernicies. Illius facilitas, hujus conſtantia, laudabatur. Poſtremo Cæſar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, ſua negligere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum eſſet; ſibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus eniteſcere poſſet. At Catoni ſtudium modeſtiæ, decoris; ſed maxume ſeveritatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite,

*had two perſons of huge abilities, but quite different diſpoſitions, M. Cato and C. Cæſar, whom I was not willing to paſs ſlightly by, ſince ſo fair an opportunity preſented of enlarging upon their characters, They were pretty much upon a par, with reſpect to their extraction, age, and eloquence. They had both the ſame greatneſs of ſoul, with an equal ſhare of glory, but of a different kind. Cæſar was celebrated for a boundleſs and noble generoſity; Cato for the integrity of his life. The former became famous by his mildneſs and mercy; his ſeverity gave a mighty reputation to the latter. Cæſar acquired glory by the practice of generoſity, compaſſion, and clemency; Cato by refuſing to waſte his ſubſtance in bribing the people. In one there was a ſure refuge for the miſerable; in the other certain deſtruction for the wicked. The eaſineſs of the former was admired; the ſteady reſolution of the latter. Finally, Cæſar was laborious, vigilant, intent upon all occaſions of ſerving his friends, to the neglect of his own concerns; denied no body any thing that was worth their acceptance, and ſought nothing for himſelf but the command of an army, with a new war, in order to diſplay his vaſt abilities to the world. Cato was a lover of moderation, decency, and, above all, ſtrict diſcipline. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious, but in bravery with the brave, in modeſty with the modeſt, and in juſtice with the*

neque

neque factione cum factioſo; ſed cum ſtrenuo virtute, cum modeſto pudore, cum innocente abſtinentia certabat. Eſſe, quam videri, bonus malebat. Itaque quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis illum adſequebatur.

*innocent. He choſe rather to be good, than appear ſo; and therefore the leſs he ſought after glory, the more it followed him.*

LVIII. Poſtquam uti dixi, ſenatus in Catonis ſententiam diſceſſit; conſul optumum factu ratus, noctem, quæ inſtabat, antecapere, ne quid eo ſpatio novaretur, triumviros, quæ ſupplicium poſtulabat, parare jubet. Ipſe, præſidiis diſpoſitis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit. Idem fit cæteris per prætores. Eſt in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paullulum aſcenderis ad lævam, circiter XII. pedes humi depreſſus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque inſuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta; ſed incultu, tenebris, odore fœdo, atque terribilis ejus facies. In eum locum poſtquam demiſſus eſt Lentulus; vindices rerum capitalium, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex gente clariſſuma Corneliorum, qui conſulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factiſque ſuis exitum vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cœpario, eodem modo ſupplicium ſumptum eſt.

LVIII. *After the ſenate, as I have ſaid, gave into Cato's opinion, the conſul thinking it the beſt way to have the ſentence executed that very night, which was juſt at hand; for fear of any riſing in the city, in caſe of delay, orders the triumviri to have all things ready for the ſame. He himſelf conducts Lentulus to priſon, where he placed ſtrong guards; whilſt the prætors do the ſame by the reſt of the conſpirators. There is a place in the jail called* Tullianum, *upon a ſmall riſe to the left hand, as one enters, which is ſunk twelve foot within the earth, ſecured on all ſides by ſtrong walls, and a good arch of ſtone above, but a naſty, dark, ſtinking, diſmal place. As ſoon as Lentulus was let down into the ſame, the executioners appointed for the purpoſe ſtrangled him. Thus did that gentleman of a patrician family, the great family of the Cornelii, who had been conſul of Rome, come to an end ſuited to his manners and behaviour. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cœparius, were all puniſhed in the ſame manner.*

LIX. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam ipſe

LIX. *Whilſt theſe things are doing at Rome, Catiline formed two legions out of the troops h*

adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones inſtituit, cohortes pro numero militum complet. Dein uti quiſque voluntarius aut ex ſociis in caſtra venerat, æqualiter diſtribuerat; ac brevi ſpatio legiones numero hominum expleverat; cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuiſſet. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis inſtructa. Cæteri, ut quemque caſus armaverat, ſparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas ſudes portabant. Sed poſtquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere; modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam verſus caſtra movere; hoſtibus occaſionem pugnandi non dare. Sperabat propediem magnas copias ſe habiturum, ſi Romæ ſocii incepta patraviſſent. Interea ſervitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnæ copiæ concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; ſimul alienum ſuis rationibus exiſtumans, videri cauſam civium cum ſervis fugitivis communicaſſe. Sed poſtquam in caſtra nuncius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, & Cethego, cæteriſque, quos ſupra memoravi, ſuppli-cium

*had brought with him, and thoſe of Manlius together, and makes up his battalions according to the number of his men; and then as any voluntiers, or thoſe that had before engaged in the plot, came in, he diſpoſed of them equally among his troops; and in a ſhort time made his legions full as to number, though he had not at firſt above two thouſand men. Of theſe, about a fourth part were completely armed; the reſt, as it happened, had ſpears or lances, and ſome only ſharp ſtakes. But after the approach of Anthony with his army, Catiline took to the mountains, and one while made a movement towards Rome, and then again towards Gaul; but would give the enemy no opportunity of battle. He hoped he ſhould ſpeedily have a vaſt army, if his fellows did but ſucceed in the execution of their deſigns in town. In the mean time, he refuſed the ſlaves that came in to him at firſt in great numbers, depending upon the ſtrength of the conſpiracy; and at the ſame time not thinking it conſiſtent with his pretenſions, to appear to jumble freemen and ſlaves together in the ſame intereſt. But after news arrived in the camp, that a full diſcovery had been made of the conſpiracy at Rome; that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the reſt mentioned above, had been all put to death, moſt of Catiline's men, whom the hopes of plunder, or the love of change, had tempted to the war, ſlipt away. The reſt Catiline led by great marches through craggy mountains, into*

cium ſumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum ſpes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum ſtudium illexerat, dilabuntur. Reliquos Catilina per montis aſperos magnis itineribus in agrum Piſtorienſem abducit; eo conſilio, uti per tramites occulte profugeret in Galliam Tranſalpinam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præſidebat; ex difficultate rerum eadem illa exiſtumans, quæ ſupra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, caſtra propere movit, ac ſub ipſis radicibus montium conſedit, qua illi deſcenſus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius longe aberat; utpote qui magno exercitu locis æquioribus expeditos in fugam ſequeretur. Sed Catilina, poſt quam vidit montibus atque copiis hoſtium ſeſe clauſum, in urbe res adverſas, neque fugæ neque præſidii ullam ſpem, optumum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli tentare, ſtatuit cum Antonio quam primum confligere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujuſcemodi orationem habuit.

*the neighbourhood of Piſtorium, in order to make his way privately through ſome narrow defiles into Tranſalpine Gaul. But Q. Metellus Celer was poſted with three legions in the territory of Picene, who gueſſed by the ſtreights Catiline was in, he had ſuch a deſign, as has been mentioned, in view. Wherefore, being informed by ſome deſerters from him, of the rout he had taken, he immediately march'd away, and encamp'd at the bottom of the mountains, where he was to paſs into Gaul. Nor was Anthony far off, who purſued the enemy flying with little or no baggage, with a good army, along the low country. But Catiline finding himſelf incloſed by the mountains, and the enemy's troops together, that all went wrong in the city, and that there were no hopes either of flight or defence within walls, thinking it the beſt way in ſuch a caſe, to try the fortune of a battle, he reſolv'd to engage Anthony as ſoon as poſſible. Wherefore, calling his army together, he made them a ſpeech to the following purpoſe.*

LX. *Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba viris virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo ſtrenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujuſque animo audacia natura aut moribus ineſt,*

LX. I am very ſenſible, gentlemen, that words cannot inſpire courage, and that an army of lubbers will never become vigorous and active, or of cowards brave, by any thing a general can ſay to them. Juſt as much courage as nature or uſe has given a man, will he ſhew in time of bat-

*tanta in bello patere ſolet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequicquam hortere. Timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; ſimul uti cauſſam conſilii mei aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, ſocordia atque ignavia Lentuli, quantam ipſi nobiſque cladem adtulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe præſidia opperior, in Galliam proficiſci nequiverim. Nunc vero, quo in loco res noſtræ ſtant, juxta mecum omnes intelligitis.*

LXI. *Exercitus hoſtium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obſtant. Diutius in his locis eſſe, ſi maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egeſtas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum eſt. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo ſitis; &, cum prælium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem, atque patriam, in dextris veſtris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt; commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniæ patebunt. Sin metu ceſſerimus, eadem illa adverſa fient; neque locus neque amicus quiſquam teget, quem arma non*

*texe-*

tle. 'Tis in vain to encourage one, whom neither glory nor danger can work upon; his fear prevents all attention to what you ſay. I have therefore called you together, only to give you a little advice, and acquaint you with the reaſons of my proceedings. You know full well, gentlemen, what miſchief the dulneſs and inactivity of Lentulus has brought upon himſelf and us all; and how, whilſt I wait here for reinforcements from town, I have been prevented from getting into Gaul. Now you are all as ſenſible as I myſelf, of the ſtate of our affairs.

LXI. We have two armies upon us, one from Rome, and another from Gaul. The want of corn, and other neceſſaries, will not allow of our continuance here, tho' we never ſo much deſired it. And whitherſoever we think of marching, we muſt make our way with the ſword. Wherefore be bold and reſolute, and when you engage, conſider that you carry riches, honour, glory, liberty, and your country, in your right hands. If we conquer, all will be ſafe; we ſhall have plenty of proviſions, and the boroughs and colonies all at our devotion. But if we flinch thro' fear, our caſe will be the reverſe. No place or friend will be able to ſecure him, whom arms could not. Beſides, gentlemen, there is not the ſame neceſſity incumbent upon us and them We fight for our country, liberty, and lives; they to ad-

*exerint. Præterea, mi-ites, non eadem nobis & llis neceſſitudo impendet. Vos pro patria, pro liber-ate, pro vita certamus. llis ſupervacaneum eſt ro potentia paucorum ugnare; quo audacius ggredimini, memores pri-inæ virtutis. Licuit otis cum ſumma turpi-udine in exſilio ætatem gere. Potuiſtis nonnul-Romæ, amiſſis bonis, lienas opes expectare. Quia illa fœda atque in-leranda viris videban-ur, hæc ſequi decrevi-is. Si hæc relinquere ultis, audacia opus eſt. Nemo, niſi victor, pace ellum mutavit. Nam fuga ſalutem ſperare, um arma, quis corpus te-itur, ab hoſtibus aver-ris, ea vero dementia ſt. Semper in prælio iis axumum eſt periculum, ui maxume timent. Au-acia pro muro habetur. um vos conſidero, mili-es, & cum facta veſtra ſtumo, magna me ſpes ictoriæ tenet. Animus, ætas, virtus veſtra me ortantur; præterea ne-eſſitudo, quæ etiam timi-os fortis facit. Nam, multitudo hoſtium ne cir-umvenire queat, prohi-ent anguſtiæ loci. Quod i virtuti veſtræ fortuna inviderit, cavete, ne inulti animam mittatis; neve capti potius, ſicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam irorum more pugnantes, cruentem atque luctuoſam victoriam oſtibus relinquatis.*

vance the power of a few, which they have no need to do; which ſhould encourage you to fall on bravely, mindful of your former courage. We might have lived in baniſhment, but with the utmoſt diſgrace. Some of you too might have lived at Rome in a ſtarving condition, and a ſtate of dependance. But becauſe thoſe things appeared diſhonourable and intolerable to brave men, you reſolved upon the part you now act. And if you deſire to get out of your preſent ill circumſtances, courage is the only way to it. None but conquerors ever change war for peace. For to expect ſecurity in flight, when the arms that ſhould ſecure a man are turned from the enemy, is madneſs. The moſt timorous are always in the moſt danger in time of battle. Valour is a wall of defence. When I conſider you, and your gallant behaviour, gentlemen, I am in great hopes of victory. Your ſpirit, youth, and courage, give me heart; as alſo the neceſſity you are under, which makes cowards brave. For the narrowneſs of the place we are to engage in, ſecures us againſt being ſurrounded by the enemy's numbers But if fortune envy your bravery, be ſure you fall not unrevenged Suffer not yourſelves to be taken and ſlaughtered like cattle; but fight like men rather, and leave the enemy a bloody, and a ſorrowful victory.

LXII.

LXII. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus ſigna canere jubet; atque inſtructos ordines in locum æquum deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, exæquato periculo, animus amplior eſſet, ipſe pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis inſtruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter ſiniſtros montis, & ad dextera rupes aſpera, octo cohortis in fronte conſtituit; reliqua ſigna in ſubſidiis arctius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis, & evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum in primam aciem ſubducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Fæſulanum quendam in ſiniſtra parte curare jubet. Ipſe cum libertis & colonis propter aquilam adſiſtit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuiſſe dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quod prælio adeſſe nequibat, M. Petrejo legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti cauſſa conſcripſerat, in fronte; poſt eas cæterum exercitum in ſubſidiis locat. Ipſe, equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans, appellat, hortatur, rogat, *uti meminerint ſe*

LXII. *Soon after the delivery of this ſpeech, he commanded the ſignal to be given for battle, and draws down his troops in proper order upon a ground commodious for him; and then having ordered all the horſes away, to put the more reſolution into his men by making the danger of all alike, he being himſelf on foot, marſhals his arm as the nature of the place an the number of his men required For as the plain had on the left mountain, and on the right a craggy rock, he drew up eight battalions in front, and the reſt he place cloſe in the rear, to relieve the upon occaſions. But he calle from amongſt them all the choice centurions and other old ſoldier even common ſoldiers too, an poſted them in the foremoſt ran He appoints C. Manlius to con mand on the right, and an o ficer of Fæſulæ on the left. H with his freed-men, and ſome Sulla's old ſoldiers that had ſettl in thoſe parts, took up his ſtand the eagle, which, it was ſaid, Marius had in his army in t Cimbrick war. On the other ſid C. Antonius being rendered, by fit of the gout, incapable of takin the command himſelf upon this o caſion, commiſſioned his lieutenan general M. Petreius to ſupply h place. Accordingly he poſts the o battalions, which he had draw together upon the account of th rebellion, in the front, and behi them the reſt of the army, to rei force them if need required. riding about, and calling upon men, here and there by name, an*

*cont*

*ntra latrones inermis, o patria, pro liberis, o aris atque focis ſuis rtare.* Homo militaris, uod amplius annos triinta tribunus aut præctus, aut legatus, aut ætor, cum magna glo-a in exercitu fuerat, pleſque ipſos, factaque eoim fortia noverat, ea mmemorando militum imos accendebat.

*mates, encourages, and begs of them,* to conſider that they were now to fight againſt a parcel of unarmed robbers, for their country, their children, and their all. *And as he had led the life of a ſoldier, having been employed in the military ſervice with great reputation, for above thirty years together, as tribune, commander of horſe, lieutenant-general, or prætor, he was acquainted with moſt of the ſoldiers, and the brave actions they had performed, by taking notice of which, he very much raiſed their courage.*

LXIII. Sed ubi, ombus rebus exploratis, etrejus tuba ſignum dat, hortis paullatim incere jubet. Idem fecit ſtium exercitus. Poſtiam eo ventum eſt, un-a ferentariis prælium mmitti poſſet; maxuo clamore infeſtis ſignis ncurrunt; pila omitnt; gladiis res geritur. eterani priſtinæ virtumemores, cominus riter inſtare; illi haud nidi reſiſtunt. Maxuma certatur. Interea Caina cum expeditis in ima acie verſari; larantibus ſuccurrere; tegros pro fauciis accerre; omnia providere; ultum ipſe pugnare, pe hoſtem ferire. Strei militis & boni impetoris officia ſimul exſeebatur. Petrejus, ubi det Catilinam, contra

LXIII. *After a thorough inſpection into the diſpoſition of his troops, Petreius orders the ſignal to be ſounded, and the battalions to advance ſlowly, whilſt the enemy's army does the ſame. After they came near enough for the light-armed ſoldiers to begin the fight, both ſides fall to work with a very great ſhout, ſword in hand, without making uſe of their ſhort lances. The veterans mindful of their former bravery, engage the enemy in cloſe fight with great fury; whilſt they make as gallant a reſiſtance, ſo that a very deſperate battle enſued. In which Catiline, with a detached party, moved about in the firſt line, relieving the diſtreſſed, bringing up freſh men to ſupply the place of the wounded, and providing for all exigencies; fighting himſelf too in perſon very often, and performing at once all the duties of a ſtout ſoldier, and a good commander. Petreius finding Catiline, contrary to his expectations, ſtand to it*

ac

ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem prætoriam in medios hoſtis inducit; eoſque perturbatos, atque alios alibi reſiſtentis interficit. Deinde utrimque ex lateribus cæteros aggreditur. Manlius & Fæſulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Poſtquam fuſas copias, ſeque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque priſtinæ dignitatis ſuæ, in confertiſſumos hoſtis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXIV. Sed, confecto prælio, tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuiſſet in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quiſque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amiſſa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors prætoria disjecerat, paullo diverſus, ſed omnes tamen adverſus vulneribus, conciderant. Catilina vero longe a ſuis inter hoſtium cadavera repertus eſt, paullulum etiam ſpirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Poſtremo, ex omni copia, neque in prælio, neque in fuga, quiſquam civis ingenuus captus eſt. Ita cuncti ſuæ hoſtiumque vitæ juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Ro-

*with great obſtinacy, brings up the general's own ſelect battalion upon their main body, by which he broke them; and tho' they rallied again, and faced about upon him here and there, yet he made vaſt ſlaughter of them. After which he attacks the reſt upon each flank. Manlius and the Fæſulan were amongſt the firſt that fell. Catiline ſeeing his forces routed, and himſelf left with a ſmall part that ſtood by him, reflecting upon his family, and former dignity, ruſhed in amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and was there ſlain fighting to the laſt.*

LXIV. *After the battle w ended, you might have ſeen amp tokens of the deſperate coura and ſpirit in the army of Catili They were generally found ſla upon the very ſpot they were poſt in at the beginning of the actio Some few only of the main bo which had been broken by the gen ral's guard, fell ſcattered h and there at a little diſtance, all with wounds before. But C tiline himſelf was found at a gr diſtance from the reſt, amidſt gr heaps of the ſlaughtered ene not quite dead, and retaining his looks his wonted fiercen Finally, out of all that numb not ſo much as one man, above quality of a ſlave, was taken eit in the battle, or in the flig that they ſeemed to have ſpa their own lives, as little as thoſ the enemy. Nor had the a of the republick much reaſon to joice in their victory, as bein very bloody one. For the bra*

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ani lætam aut incruen-
m victoriam adeptus
at. Nam ſtrenuiſſumus
iiſque aut occiderat in
ælio, aut graviter vul-
ratus diſceſſerat. Multi
tem, qui e caſtris vi-
ndi, aut ſpoliandi gra-
a proceſſerant, volventes
ſtilia cadavera amicum
ii, pars hoſpitem aut
gnatum reperiebant. Fuere item, qui inimicos ſuos cog-
ſcerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum lætitia, mœror,
ctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

*among them were all, either ſlain, or deſperately wounded. Many that came out of the camp to view the field of battle, or plunder the ſlain, in tumbling over the dead bodies, ſome found a friend, others a relation; and ſome too light upon their enemies. So that there was throughout the whole army a ſtrange mixture of mirth and ſorrow mourning and joy.*

C. CRISPI

# C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

# JUGURTHA:

## SIVE

# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

FALSO queritur de natura ſua genus humanum, quod imbecille atque ævi brevis, ſorte potius, quam virtute, regatur. Nam contra reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præſtabilius invenias, magiſque naturæ induſtriam, hominum, quam vim aut tempus, deeſſe. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus eſt; qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via graſſatur, abunde pollens, potenſque, & clarus eſt neque fortuna eget; quippe quæ probitatem, induſtriam, aliaſque artis bonas neque dare, neque eripere cuiquam poteſt. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam & voluptates corporis peſſum datus eſt, perniciosa lubidine paullisper u-

*MAnkind complain of their nature without cauſe, as infirm and ſhort-lived, and more under the direction of chance than virtue. But upon conſidering the human frame in a different view, you will find nothing in the world more great and excellent; and that men want induſtry more than abilities or time. Now the ſoul is the leader and commander in the life of man, which, whilſt it purſues glory in the way of virtue, is abundantly vigorous, able, and glorious, and ſtands in no need of fortune's help; as who can neither give nor take away from any one probity, induſtry, or other good qualities. But if the mind, captivated by wicked luſts, ſinks into idleneſs and pleaſure, after it has for a while indulged its humour, to the ruin of its own vigour, and that of the body, beſides loſs of time, the weakneſs of human nature is blamed for it; as people of ill conduct*

ſus

us ubi per ſocordiam ires, tempus, ingenium iffluxere, naturæ infirnitas accuſatur. Suam uippe culpam actores d negotia transferunt. Quod ſi hominibus boarum rerum tanta cura ſſet, quanto ſtudio aliea ac nihil profutura, ultum etiam periculoſa, etunt; neque regerenır magis quam regerent aſus; & eo magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus loria æterni fierent.

*are apt to transfer all blame from themſelves upon the circumſtances of affairs they are engaged in. Now if men were but as much concerned for things truly good, as they are for what are otherwiſe, and can avail them nothing, nay are really very dangerous, they would not be ſo much governed by chance, as over-rule it; and arrive at that grandeur, as inſtead of being mortal, to live for ever in the records of fame.*

II. Nam uti genus hoinum compoſitum ex orpore & anima eſt; ita s cunctæ ſtudiaque omia noſtra, corporis alia, ia animæ naturam ſeuuntur. Igitur praeclara cies, magnæ divitiæ, ad oc, vis corporis, & alia mnia hujuſcemodi brevi ilabuntur. At ingenii gregia faſcinora, ſicuti iima, immortalia ſunt. oſtremo, corporis & ortunæ bonorum, uti iitium, ſic finis eſt, omiaque orta occidunt, & icta ſeneſcunt. Animus, icorruptus, æternus, recor humani generis, agit tque habet cuncta neue ipſe habetur. Quo iagis pravitas eorum adiiranda eſt, qui, dediti orporis gaudiis, per luxm atque ignaviam ætaem agunt; cæterum, inenia, quo neque melius, eque amplius aliud in

II. *For as man is made of two parts, body and ſoul; ſo all our concerns and purſuits have a near affinity with the nature of the one, or the other. Thus beauty, riches, and ſtrength, with other things of the like kind, are ſoon gone; but the noble productions of the mind are, like the mind itſelf, immortal. Finally, the goods of the body and fortune, as they have a beginning, ſo have they likewiſe an end; and all things that riſe, ſet; and ſuch as grow, grow old too. But the ſoul ſuffers no decay, is eternal, the guide of man, acts and poſſeſſes all things; but is itſelf out of the power of every thing elſe. How wonderful is their weakneſs then, who give themſelves up to ſenſual enjoyments, and ſpend their lives in luxury and idleneſs; but ſuffer their minds, the beſt and the greateſt thing in human nature, to lie fallow, without any cultivation or care at all of it! eſpecially, when there are ſo many, and ſuch various ways of employ-*

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natura mortalium eſt, incultu atque ſocordia torpeſcere ſinunt; cum præſertim tam multæ variæque ſint artes animi, quibus ſumma claritudo paratur.

*ing the mind, whereby a man may render his name immortal.*

III. Verum ex his magiſtratus & imperia, poſtremo omnis cura rerum publicarum, minume mihi hac tempeſtate cupiunda videntur. Quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honeſti ſunt. Nam, vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam & poſſis, & delicta corrigas, tamen importunum eſt, cum præſertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, alia hoſtilia portendant. Fruſtra autem niti, neque aliud, ſe fatigando, niſi odium quærere, extremæ dementiæ eſt; niſi forte quem inhoneſta & pernicioſa lubido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem ſuam gratificari.

III. *But of theſe ſeveral ways, offices civil and military, in ſhort, all publick places of truſt and power whatever, ſeem at this time not at all deſireable; when virtue has no regard paid it; and thoſe who by baſe arts obtain them, are not therefore more ſecure or honourable at all. For to govern your country or parents in the way of violence, tho' you have it in your power, and may perhaps rectify ſome things that are amiſs in them, is however very vexatious; eſpecially ſince all revolutions are ſure to be attended with the murther and baniſhment of great numbers, and other calamities oj war. Now for a man to take a world of pains to no purpoſe, ana to get nothing by all his fatigue, but to be hated by the world i. meer madneſs, and what non would ſurely be guilty of, but thoſ of a humour baſe and perniciou. enough, to ſacrifice their honou and liberty both to the power of a few.*

IV. Cæterum ex iis negotiis, quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno uſui eſt memoria rerum geſtarum. Cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, prætereundum puto; ſimul, ne per inſolentiam quis exiſtumet memet ſtudium meum laudando extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi

IV. *But of all the ways of em ploying a man's parts, that of writ ing hiſtory ſeems to be of ſingula uſe. But this is ſo beaten a ſub ject that I ſhould ſay nothing of it and the rather leaſt any one ſhoul think I magnified my own employ ment, out of vanity only. An as I have determined to decline a preferment in the ſtate, I doub there will be ſome ready to giv the name of idleneſs to the uſefu*

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procul a republica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiæ imponant: certe, quibus maxuma induſtria videtur, ſalutare plebem & conviviis gratiam quærere. Qui ſi reputaverint, & quibus ego temporibus magiſtratum adeptus ſim; & quales viri idem adſequi nequiverint; & poſtea, quæ genera hominum in ſenatum pervenerint; profecto exiſtumabunt, me magis merito, quam ignavia, judicium animi mei mutaviſſe; majuſque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicæ venturum. Nam ſæpe audivi, Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis noſtræ præclaros viros ſolitos ita dicere, *Cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementiſſume ſibi animum ad virtutem accendi.* Scilicet, non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in ſeſe habere; ſed memoria rerum geſtarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore creſcere; neque prius ſedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis eſt omnium, his moribus, quin divitiis & ſumptibus, non probitate, neque induſtria, cum majoribus ſuis contendat?

*way of life I have choſen; ſuch I mean, who think the greateſt induſtry is ſhewn in complimenting and treating the mob. Who, if they would but conſider in what times I was preferred in the government, and what conſiderable men miſcarried in their endeavours to that purpoſe, and what ſort of men have ſince got into the ſenate, will certainly think that I altered my mind upon very good reaſon, and not from a love of idleneſs; and that the publick will receive greater advantages from my declining of buſineſs, than from others engaging therein. For I have often heard, that Q. Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other perſons of great figure in the government, uſed to ſay,* that, when they looked upon the images of their anceſtors, their minds were fired to the laſt degree with an emulation of their noble behaviour. *Now, to be ſure, the wax, or its figure, had no ſuch efficacy in it; but it was the reflection upon their great actions, which raiſed that flame in the breaſts of thoſe excellent men, and gave them no quiet, 'till they arrived at the ſame height of reputation and glory with their anceſtors. But what perſon have we, as the times now go, that is not much more concerned to outſtrip his forefathers in riches and prodigality than probity and induſtry. Nay, gentlemen of low rank, who before uſed by their good qualities to raiſe themſelves above the nobles, now endeavour to get into places of power and truſt, by underhand*

Etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem ſoliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim & per latrocinia potius, quam bonis artibus, ad imperia & honores nituntur. Proinde quaſi prætura & conſulatus, atque alia omnia hujuſcemodi per ſe ipſa clara & magnifica ſint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea ſuſtinent, virtus eſt. Verum ego liberius altiuſque proceſſi, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque. Nunc ad inceptum redeo.

*tricks and rogueries, more than laudable accompliſhments. As if the prætorſhip, conſulſhip, and other the like offices, were in themſelves glorious and honourable, and not rendered ſuch only by the good behaviour of thoſe that enjoy them. But I have run out too freely, and too far upon this ſubject, out of pure indignation againſt the corruption of the times. Now I return to my purpoſe.*

V. Bellum ſcripturus ſum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha rege Numidarum geſſit; primum, quia magnum & atrox, variaque victoria fuit; dein, quia tum primum ſuperbiæ nobilitatis obviam itum eſt; quæ contentio divina & humana cuncta permiſcuit; eoque vecordiæ proceſſit, uti ſtudiis civilibus bellum atque vaſtitas Italiæ finem facerent. Sed prius, quam hujuſcemodi rei initium expedio, pauca ſupra repetam; quo, ad cognoſcendum, omnia illuſtria magis, magiſque in aperto ſint. Bello Punico ſecundo, quo dux Carthaginienſium, Hannibal, poſt magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maxume attriverat, Maſiniſſa rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui poſte

V. *Which is to write the hiſtory of the war the Roman people had with Jugurtha, king of the Numidians; firſt, becauſe it was a great and a terrible one, full of various turns of fortune; and ſecondly too, becauſe then was the firſt ſtand made againſt the inſolence of the nobility; which diſpute confounded all things, both divine and human; and was carried to that height of madneſs that nothing but a war, and the deſolation of Italy, could put an end to it. But before I enter upon this ſubject I muſt run back a little, in order to ſet the whole in a proper light. In the ſecond Punick war, wherein Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, gave the greateſt ſhock of all others to the Roman grandeur, by a terrible devaſtation of Italy, Maſiniſſa king of the Numidians, being received into the Roman alliance, by P. Scipio, afterwards ſtiled Africanus, upon account of his putting a happy concluſion to that war, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by*

poſtea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa & præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat. Ob quæ, victis Carthaginienſibus, & capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus quaſcumque urbis & agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Maſiniſſa bona atque honeſta nobis permanſit Sed imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipſa filius regnum ſolus obtinuit, Maſtanabale & Guluſſa fratribus morbo abſumptis. Is Atherbalem & Hiempſalem ex ſeſe genuit; Jugurthamque filium Maſtanabalis fratris, quem Maſiniſſa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos ſuos, domi habuit.

*many brave and gallant actions: in conſideration of which, after the Carthaginians were conquered, and Syphax taken, who was maſter of a great and powerful kingdom in Africa, the Roman people made a preſent of all the cities and territory they had taken to king Maſiniſſa; for which bounty he was ever after a faſt and faithful ally to us, continuing in the enjoyment of his dominions 'till his death. After which, they fell into the hands of his ſon Micipſa, his two brothers Maſtanabal and Guluſſa, having died ſome time before. He had two ſons, Atherbal and Hiempſal; but nevertheleſs educated in his own court, and in the ſame manner as his own ſons, Jugurtha, the ſon of his brother Maſtanabal, whom, as being begot of a concubine, Maſiniſſa had left in the condition of a private perſon.*

VI. Qui, ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, ſed multo maxume ingenio validus, non ſe luxu neque inertiæ corrumpendum dedit; ſed, uti mos gentis illius eſt, equitare, jaculari, curſu cum æqualibus certare; &, cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus eſſe. Ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere; leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire; pluri-

VI. *This youth, when he came to man's eſtate, being conſpicuous for ſtrength of body, handſomeneſs of perſon, and great parts, did not give himſelf up to luxury and idleneſs: but, according to the faſhion of his country, exerciſed himſelf in riding, throwing the lance, and racing; in which exerciſes though he was much ſuperior to all his fellows, yet he was nevertheleſs exceedingly and univerſally beloved by them. Beſides, he ſpent moſt of his time in hunting. He was ſure to be the firſt, or among the foremoſt, in the encountering of*

mum facere, & minumum ipſe de ſe loqui. Quibus rebus Micipſa, tametſi initio lætus fuerat, exiſtumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno ſuo gloriæ fore, tamen, poſtquam hominem adoleſcentem, exacta ætate ſua, & parvis liberis, magis magiſque creſcere intelligit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo ſuo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortalium, avida imperii, & præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem; præterea, opportunitas ſuæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocris viros ſpe prædæ tranſvorſos agit; ad hoc, ſtudia Numidarum in Jugurtham accenſa; ex quibus, ſi talem virum dolis interfeciſſet, ne qua ſeditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque inſidiis, opprimi poſſe hominem tam acceptum popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus, & appetens gloriæ militaris, ſtatuit eum objectare periculis, & eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur bello Numantino Micipſa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilio mitteret, ſperans vel oſtentando

*lions, and other wild beaſts; and though he did the moſt, yet he ſaid the leaſt of himſelf. With which things though Micipſa was at firſt well pleaſed, as looking upon the gallant behaviour of Jugurtha as redounding to the honour of his kingdom; yet, finding the young man grow more and more in fame, his days being now near an end, and his children but ſmall, he was very much affected, and full of perplexity about him. The natur of man, greedy of power, and diſpoſed at any rate to gratify that paſſion, alarmed him; but eſpecially the opportunity which his own age, and that of his children, gav him; a temptation that is apt t lead men, otherwiſe not ambitious aſtray. But what terrified hir moſt of all was the vaſt fondneſ the Numidians had for Jugurtha inſomuch that he feared, if h made him away privately, it migh occaſion a general mutiny, if no a war.*

VII. *Perplexed with theſe dif ficulties, and finding it impracti cable to take him off, either b open force, or ſecret contrivanc conſidering how popular he was he reſolved to try how favourab fortune might prove to him i another way, that is, by expoſin him to dangers. For he was ac tive in fight, and vaſtly fond o military glory. Wherefore Mi cipſa being to ſend ſome troops o both horſe and foot to the aſ ſiſtance of the Roman people in th war againſt Numantia, hopin that his deſire of diſtinction, o*

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virtutem, vel hoſtium ſævitia facile eum occaſurum, præfecit Numidis quos in Hiſpaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator fuit, & morem hoſtium cognovit, multo labore, multaque cura, præterea modeſtiſſume parendo, & ſæpe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, uti noſtris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori eſſet. Ac ſane, quod difficillumum in primis eſt, & prælio ſtrenuus erat, & bonus conſilio. Quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque ſolet. Igitur imperator omnis fere res aſperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magiſque eum indies amplecti; quippe cujus neque conſilium, neque inceptum ullum fruſtra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi & ingenii ſollertia Quibus rebus ſibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

*the fury of the enemy might prove fatal to him, he made him commander of the forces he ſent into Spain. But that matter ended quite otherwiſe than he expected. For Jugurtha, as he was of an active enterpriſing genius, upon obſerving the nature of P. Scipio, and the enemy's way of managing, did, by the utmoſt pains and diligence in action, as alſo by a moſt ſubmiſſive obedience to all orders, and frequently expoſing his perſon to all dangers, in a little time become ſo very famous, that he was exceedingly beloved by our men, and was very terrible to the Numantines. And, what is very difficult indeed, he was brave in action, and wiſe in council. One of which qualities from a foreſight of danger is apt to cauſe fear, and the other raſhneſs. Accordingly the general executed all deſperate projects by the means of Jugurtha, received him into the number of his friends, and grew every day more fond of him, as a man whoſe advice and undertakings never failed of ſucceſs; to which were added a great generoſity of mind, and huge dexterity of parts; by which qualities he procured himſelf an intimate friendſhip with many of the Romans.*

VIII. Ea tempeſtate in exercitu noſtro fuere complures novi atque nobilis, quibus divitiæ bono honeſtoque potiores erant, factioſi, domi po-

VIII. *There was at that time in our army a great many, both of high and low rank, who preferred riches before virtue and honour, mighty party-men, and of great intereſt in their ſeveral coun-*

 tentes,

tentes, apud ſocios clari magis quam honeſti; qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, *ſi Micipſa rex occidiſſet, fore uti ſolus imperio Numidiæ potiretur. In ipſo maxumam virtutem, Romæ omnia venalia eſſe.* Sed poſtquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, & ipſe revorti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium adduxit; ibique ſecreto monuit, *uti potius publice, quam privatim, amicitiam populi Romani coleret; neu quibus largiri inſuſceret. Periculoſe a paucis emi, quod multorum eſſent. Si permanere vellet in ſuis artibus, ultro illi & gloriam & regnum venturum. Sin properantius pergeret, ipſum pecunia præcipitem caſurum.*

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris eum, quas Micipſæ redderet, dimiſit; earum ſententia hæc erat. *Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit. Quam rem tibi certo ſcio gaudio eſſe. Nobis ob merita ſua carus eſt. Ut idem S. P. Q. R. ſit, ſumma ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro*

*tries; better known than eſteemed amongſt our allies; who inflamed the ambitious ſoul of Jugurtha by offers of their ſervice, telling him,* That when Micipſa dropped he might eaſily ſecure the kingdom of Numidia to himſelf alone. He was a perſon of great abilities, and all things were to be ſold at Rome. *But when, upon the reduction of Numantia, Scipio had determined to diſmiſs the auxiliary troops, and return home himſelf, he did, in the face of the army, preſent Jugurtha, and applaud him in terms of the higheſt approbation; but afterwards, taking him into his tent, he ſecretly adviſed him,* to cultivate a friendſhip with the Roman people, by paying his court to the government rather than private perſons, and to avoid bribery; ſince it would be hazardous to purchaſe that of a few which belonged to many. If he would but continue ſteady in the exerciſe of his own good qualities, glory and a kingdom too would drop into him of themſelves; but, if he was too haſty, his money would be the ruin of him.

IX. *After this advice, he diſmiſſed him with a letter for Micipſa, to the following purpoſe;* Your Jugurtha has behaved incomparably well in the war of Numantia; which, I am ſure, muſt be matter of no ſmall joy to you. We have, and very deſervedly, the higheſt reſpect for him; and will endeavour to procure him the ſame from the ſenate and people of Rome. In re-

*noſtra*

*noſtra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque avo ſuo Maſiniſſa.* Igitur rex, ubi ea, quæ fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita eſſe cognovit, cum virtute, tum gratia viri permotus, flexit animum ſuum; & Jugurtham beneficiis vincere aggreſſus eſt. Statimque eum adoptavit, & teſtamento pariter cum filiis hæredem inſtituit. Sed ipſe, paucos poſt annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, cum ſibi finem vitæ adeſſe intelligeret, coram amicis & cognatis, itemque Atherbale & Hiempſale filiis, dicitur hujuſcemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuiſſe.

X. *Parvum ego te, Jugurtha, amiſſo patre, ſine ſpe, ſine opibus, in meum regnum accepi; exiſtumans non minus me tibi, quam ſi genuiſſem, ob beneficia carum fore. Neque ea res falſum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna & egregia tua omittam, noviſſume rediens Numantia, meque regnumque meum gloria honoraviſti; tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amiciſſumos feciſti. In Hiſpania nomen familiæ renovatum eſt. Poſtremo, quod difficillumum inter mortales eſt,*

gard to the friendſhip betwixt us, I congratulate you upon this occaſion. Herewith I return you a man, worthy of you, and his grandfather Maſiniſſa. *The king, finding what common fame had before informed him of confirmed by this letter of the general, moved as well by the fine accompliſhments of the man, as his intereſt with the Romans, reſolved to be eaſy with him, and endeavour to conquer him by kindneſs. Accordingly he immediately adopted him, and by a will made him joint-heir with his ſons. In a few years after, being worn out with infirmities and old age together, and finding himſelf a dying man, he is ſaid, in the preſence of his friends and relations, his two ſons Atherbal and Hiempſal too being by, to have addreſſed himſelf to Jugurtha in the Words following:*

X. I did, my dear Jugurtha, receive you into my court, left a little one by your father, without hopes or fortune, promiſing myſelf that you would be mindful of the favour, and love me no leſs than my own children, if I ſhould have any; nor was I deceived in that matter. For, to ſay nothing of other great and noble actions of yours, at your return from Numantia, you did me and my kingdom the utmoſt honour, by your excellent behaviour improved to the higheſt pitch the friendſhip that before ſubſiſted between the Romans and us; and revived afreſh the name of our family in Spain; and finally, what is the moſt difficult thing in the world,

*gloria invidia viciſti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitæ facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem, moneo obteſtorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres ſunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam ſanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus, neque theſauri, præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici; quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas. Officio & fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? Aut quem alienum fidum invenies, ſi tuis hoſtis fueris? Equidem ego regnum vobis trado firmum, ſi boni eritis; ſi mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia res parvæ creſcunt, diſcordia maxumæ dilabuntur. Cæterum, ante hos, te, Jugurtha, qui ætate & ſapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior eſt, etiamſi accipit injuriam, tamen, quia plus poteſt, facere videtur. Vos autem, Atherbal & Hiempſal, colite, obſervate talem hunc virum; imitamini virtutem, & enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos ſumpſiſſe videar, quam genuiſſe.*

you overcame envy itſelf by your glory. Now, ſince nature is juſt putting an end to my life, I beſeech you by this right hand, by the honour of a king too, I entreat and beg of you, to love my children, your relations, and brothers by adoption; and that you would not transfer your affection to ſtrangers, rather than keep it fixed upon thoſe who are united to you by blood. Armies and treaſures are not the ſecurity of kingdoms, ſo much as friends, whom you can neither force to be ſuch by arms, nor purchaſe with gold. They are only procured by good offices and fidelity. Who ſhould be more a friend than one brother to another? Or what ſtranger will you find faithful to you, if you are an enemy to your own relations? I deliver up to you a kingdom, ſtrong indeed, if you are good to one another, but weak, if you are wicked. For ſmall ſtates grow great by unanimity, whilſt great ones come to nothing by diſcord. But it behoves you, Jugurtha, more than they, who are both older and wiſer than they, to take care and guard againſt any miſconduct in this affair. For in all conteſts, the more opulent party, though he really receive wrong, yet, becauſe he is the more powerful, is thought to do wrong. But do you, Atherbal and Hiempſal, reſpect and reverence this worthy man, imitate his noble behaviour, and do your utmoſt, that the world may not think I have adopted a ſon preferable to thoſe nature beſtowed upon me.

XI. Ad

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametſi regem ficta locutum intelligebat, & ipſe longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne reſpondit. Micipſa paucis poſt diebus moritur. Poſtquam illi more regio juſta magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, ut inter ſe de negotiis cunctis diſceptarent. Sed Hiempſal, qui minumus ex illis erat, natura ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ, quia materno genere impar erat, deſpiciens, dextra Atherbalis adſedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein, tamen, ut ætati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in alteram partem tranſductus eſt. Ibi cum multa de adminiſtrando imperio differerent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit, *Oportere quinquennii conſulta & decreta omnia reſcindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipſam parum animo valuiſſe.* Tum *idem* Hiempſal *placere ſibi* reſpondit; *nam ipſum illum tribus his proxumis annis adoptatione in regnum perveniſſe.* Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altius, quam quiſquam ratus erat, deſcendit. Itaque

XI. *To this Jugurtha made a very complaiſant reply, ſuitable to the occaſion, though he was ſenſible the king was far from being ſincere in what he ſaid, and he himſelf was as far from deſigning what he declared for. Micipſa died a few days after. As ſoon as the funeral ſolemnity, which was very magnificent, was over, the three princes met together, in order to confer about the ſettlement of their affairs. But Hiempſal, the youngeſt of them, being naturally high-ſpirited, who had before ſlighted Jugurtha for the meanneſs of his birth by the mother's ſide, placed himſelf on the right hand of Atherbal, to prevent Jugurtha's ſitting himſelf in the middle betwixt him and his brother, which amongſt the Numidians is reckoned the moſt honourable poſition. And it was with much ado he was prevailed upon by the importunity of his brother to pay a deference to the age of Jugurtha by ſeating himſelf on the other ſide. After a great deal of diſcourſe upon a method of proceeding in the adminiſtration of their kingdom, Jugurtha, among other things, propoſed* a repeal of all the reſolutions and appointments of the five years foregoing, by reaſon Micipſa was at that time but in a doating condition. *Hiempſal ſaid* he was of the ſame mind; for his adoption had happened within that time, to wit, about three years before. *Which ſaying ſunk deeper into the mind of Jugurtha than any one imagined. Therefore from that day forward, being perplexed*

Itaque, ex eo tempore ira & metu anxius, moliri, parare, atque ea modo in animo habere, quibus Hiempſal per dolum caperetur. Quæ ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, ſtatuit quovis modo incœptum perficere.

*betwixt anger and fear, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours, all the art and contrivance in his power, privately to make away with Hiempſal. But, finding he could not in that way of proceeding gain his purpoſe ſo ſoon as he deſired, and his enraged ſoul being not to be pacified, he reſolves at any rate to execute his deſign of murdering him.*

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum ſupra memoravi, propter diſſenſionem placuerat dividi theſauros, finiſque imperii ſingulis conſtitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, ſed maturius ad pecuniam diſtribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua theſauris, alius alio conceſſere. Sed Hiempſal in oppido Thirmida forte ejus domo utebatur, qui proxumus lictor Jugurthæ, carus acceptuſque ei ſemper fuerat. Quem ille caſu miniſtrum oblatum promiſſis onerat impellitque, uti tamquam ſuam domum viſens erat, portarum claves adulterinas paret; nam veræ ad Hiempſalem referebantur. Cæterum, ubi res poſtularet, ſe ipſum cum magna venturum manu. Numida mandata brevi conficit; atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui, poſtquam in ædes irrupere,

XII. *In the firſt meeting which, we have above ſaid, the princes had, they could not agree; and therefore reſolved to divide the treaſure and the kingdom too; and a time was accordingly fixed for both, but firſt for the partition of the money. In the mean time the princes had withdrawn ſeparately into lodgings not far from the place where the money lay; particularly Hiempſal into the town of Thirmida, to the houſe of one that had been prime ſerjeant to Jugurtha, and ever highly in his favour and confidence. Now fortune preſenting him with ſo fine an opportunity, he loads the fellow with promiſes, and prevails with him to go under pretence of viſiting his houſe and provide falſe keys of the doors; for the true ones were always at night carried up to Hiempſal in his bed-chamber; and when all was ready, he told him, he would be ſure to come with a conſiderable force. The Numidian quickly executed his orders; and, as inſtructed, let in Jugurtha's ſoldiers by night.. After they were got in, they run ſome one way, and ſome another, in queſt of the king. Some they killed aſleep, and others ſtanding*

re,

e, diverſi regem quærere; dormientis alios, alios ccurſantis interficere; crutari loca abdita; clauſa effringere; ſtrepitu & umultu omnia miſcere. Cum interim Hiempſal eperitur, occultans ſe ugurio mulieris ancillæ, quo initio pavidus & ignarus loci profugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, uti juſſi erant, ad Jugurtham eferunt.

XIII. Cæterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur. Atherbalem, omniſque, qui ſub Micipſæ imperio fuerant, metus invadit. In duas partis diſcedunt Numidæ; plures Atherbalem ſequuntur, ſed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha, quam maxumas poteſt, copias armat. Urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio ſuo adjungit. Omni Numidiæ imperare parat. Atherbal, tametſi Romam legatos miſerat, qui ſenatum docerent de cæde fratris & fortunis ſuis, tamen fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex prælio profugit in provinciam, ac dehinc Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha, patratis conſiliis, poſtquam omni Numidia

*upon their defence; ſearched all the private places about the houſe, and broke open ſuch as were locked, and filled every part with noiſe and confuſion. Whilſt in the mean time Hiempſal was found hiding himſelf in the poor lodging of a maid-ſervant; whither, upon the firſt alarm, he ran in a fright, being not as yet well acquainted with the houſe. The Numidians, according to their orders, carry his head to Jugurtha.*

XIII. *The fame of this villany was ſoon ſpread all Africa over, and ſtruck a mighty terror into Atherbal, and all that had been ſubjects of Micipſa. The Numidians were divided upon it into two parties; the majority ſided with Atherbal, but the moſt warlike with Jugurtha; who, raiſing as great an army as he could, reduces ſeveral cities, ſome by force, and others by perſuaſion, under his ſubjection; and, in ſhort, aims at nothing leſs than being maſter of all Numidia. Atherbal, though he had diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome, to inform the ſenate of the murder of his brother, and his own condition; yet, depending upon the number of his troops, reſolved to give his enemy battle. But being defeated therein, he made his eſcape into the Roman province, and from thence went to Rome. Jugurtha, after he had thus finiſhed his work, and was now become maſter of all Numidia, conſidering the matter coolly by himſelf, dreaded the Roman people, and could find no ſecurity againſt their reſentment,*

potie-

potiebatur, in otio facinus ſuum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque adverſus iram ejus uſquam, niſi in avaritia nobilitatis, & pecunia ſua, ſpem habere. Itaque, paucis diebus, cum auro argentoque multo legatos Romam mittit; queis præcipit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant; dein novos acquirant; poſtremo, quemcunque poſſint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere, & ex præcepto regis, hoſpitibus, aliiſque, quorum ea tempeſtate in ſenatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera miſere; tanta commutatio inceſſit, ut ex maxuma invidia in gratiam & favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars ſpe, alii præmio inducti, ſingulos ex ſenatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum conſuleretur. Igitur, ubi legati ſatis confidunt, die conſtituto ſenatus utriſque datur. Atherbalem hoc modo accepimus.

*but in the avarice of the nobility, and his money. Wherefore in a few days' time he diſpatches away embaſſadors to Rome with great ſtore of ſilver and gold, and orders them in the firſt place to glut all his old friends with preſents, and then to procure him new ones; in ſhort, to ſtick at nothing, but bribe all before them. As ſoon as the gentlemen came to Rome, and, according to the king's inſtructions, diſtributed large preſents to the perſons by whom they were entertained, and others, leading men at that time in the ſenate, ſuch a wonderful change enſued upon it, that Jugurtha, inſtead of being under a terrible odium, was mightily in the good graces of all the nobility; ſome of whom tempted by hopes, and others by actual bribes, made a ſtrong intereſt in the houſe to prevent any ſevere reſolution againſt him. Wherefore, as ſoon as the embaſſadors thought they had made all ſafe, they and Atherbal had an audience given them by the ſenate. Upon which occaſion Atherbal, it is ſaid, ſpoke to the following effect.*

XIV. *P. C. Micipſa pater meus moriens mihi præcepit, uti regni Numidiæ tantummodo procurationem exiſtumarem meam; cæterum jus & imperium penes vos eſſe; ſimul eniterer domi militiæque quam maxumo uſui eſſe populo Romano; vos*

XIV. Venerable fathers, Micipſa my father, at his death, gave me a charge to look upon the adminiſtration of the kingdom of Numidia only as mine, but the right and ſovereignty to be in you; and at the ſame time to be as ſerviceable to the Roman people as poſſible, both in peace, and in war; and regard you as my rela-

*mihi*

*mihi cognatorum, vos in locum adfinium ducerem; ſi ea feciſſem, in veſtra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quæ præcepta patris mei cum agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra ſuſtinet, ſceleratiſſumus, contempto imperio veſtro, Maſiniſſæ me nepotem, etiam ab ſtirpe ſocium atque amicum populi Romani, regno fortuniſque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, P. C. quoniam eo miſeriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum meorum beneficia, poſſe me a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxume deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; ſecundum ea, ſi deſideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per ſe ipſa probitas eſt; neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, P. C. quibus, quod mihi miſerrumum eſt, cogor prius oneri, quam uſui, eſſe. Cæteri reges, aut bello victi, in amicitiam a vobis recepti ſunt, aut in ſuis dubiis rebus ſocietatem veſtrum appetiverunt.*

XV. *Familia noſtra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginienſi amicitiam inſtituit, quo tempore*

tions and kinſmen; telling me, if I did ſo, I ſhould be ſure to find forces, riches, and a ſecurity to my kingdom, in your friendſhip. And whilſt I was propoſing to put theſe orders of my father in execution, Jugurtha, the wickedeſt wretch alive, in contempt of your high authority, ſtripped me the grandſon of Maſiniſſa, and born an ally and friend of the Roman people, of my kingdom, and every thing elſe in the world. And ſince I was, moſt illuſtrious fathers, to be reduced to ſo miſerable a condition, I could wiſh I might have had the advantage, however, to implore your aſſiſtance for my own perſonal ſervices rather than thoſe of my forefathers; but above all, that I might have a debt of kindneſſes due to me from the Roman people that I might never have occaſion for; or, if I had, might only make uſe of ſuch as were due to me. But becauſe integrity alone is no ſufficient ſecurity, nor was it in my power to direct the conduct of Jugurtha, I have fled to you, worthy fathers, for protection; to whom, to my unſpeakable ſorrow, I am obliged to be burthenſome before I could be of any ſervice. Other kings have been either firſt conquered in war, and then graciouſly received into your alliance, or elſe have in diſtreſs ſollicited for the ſame.

XV. Our family firſt contracted an alliance with the Roman people, in a war of theirs againſt the Carthaginians, at a time when

*magis*

*magis fides ejus, quam fortuna pendenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, P. C. nolite pati me nepotem Maſiniſſæ fruſtra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil cauſſæ haberem, præter miſerandam fortunam; quod paullo ante rex genere, fama, atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes expecto; tamen erat majeſtatis populi Romani prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujuſquam regnum per ſcelus creſcere. Verum ego iis finibus ejectus ſum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater & avus meus una vobiſcum expulare Syphacem & Carthaginienſes. Veſtra beneficia mihi erepta ſunt, P. C. vos in mea injuria deſpecti eſtis. Eheu me miſerum! huccine, Micipſa pater, beneficia tua evaſere, uti quem tu parem cum liberis tuis, regnique participem feciſti, is potiſſumum ſtirpis tuæ extinctor ſit? Numquamne ergo familia noſtra quieta erit? Semperne in ſanguine, ferro, fuga verſabimur? Dum Carthaginienſes incolumes fuere, jure omnia ſæva patiebamur. Hoſtis ab latere; vos amici procul; ſpes omnis in armis*

their honour was more to be regarded, than their fortune. Suffer me not, mighty fathers, a deſcendant of that family, the grandſon of Maſiniſſa, to implore your aſſiſtance in vain. If I had no other pretenſions for procuring the ſame beſides the miſery of my circumſtances, that I, who was but lately a prince conſiderable for my extraction, fame, and forces, am now reduced to the loweſt ſtate of miſery, poverty, and dependance; yet would it highly become the majeſty of the Roman people to vouchſafe me their protection, and not ſuffer any prince to grow great by the practice of villainy. But I have been forced out of a country which the Roman people beſtowed upon my anceſtors; from whence my father and grandfather, in conjunction with you, drove Syphax and the Carthaginians The favours you conferred upon my family have been taken from me, noble fathers; you have been deſpitefully treated in the injuſtice done to me. Alas, wretch that I am! Is all your kindneſs, my dear father Micipſa, come to this, that the man you had made equal to your own ſons, and joint-heir of your kingdom with them, ſhould, above all others, be the ruin of your iſſue? Muſt our family then never be at reſt? Muſt we be ever in blood, war, or baniſhment? Whilſt the Carthaginians flouriſhed, we might well ſuffer every thing that was diſmal. Our enemies were our next neighbours, and you our friends far off. All our hopes were

*erat,*

*erat. Poſtquam illa peſtis ex Africa ejecta eſt, læti pacem agitabamus; quippe, queis hoſtis nullus erat, niſi forte quem vos juſſiſſetis. Ecce autem ex improviſo Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, ſcelere atque ſuperbia ſeſe efferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo ſuo interfecto, primum regnum ejus ſceleris ſui prædam fecit; poſt, ubi me iiſdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus, quam vim aut bellum, expectantem, in imperio veſtro, ſicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo; inopem, coopertum miſeriis, effecit ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno, eſſem.*

XVI. *Ego ſic exiſtumabam, patres conſcripti, uti prædicantem audiveram patrem meum; qui veſtram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem ſuſcipere, cæterum ex omnibus maxume tutos eſſe. Quod in familia noſtra fuit, præſtitit; uti in omnibus bellis adeſſet vobis; nos uti per otium tuti ſimus, in manu veſtra eſt, patres conſcripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium Jugurtham beneficiis ſuis ratus eſt nobis conjunctum fore. Alter eorum necatus; alterius ipſe ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid a-*

in our arms. But when Africa was delivered from that peſtilent people, we enjoyed all the delights of peace, as having no enemy, unleſs ſuch as you had appointed us. When behold, unexpectedly, Jugurtha erecting his plumes with intolerable impudence, wickedneſs, and pride, and murdering my brother, his near relation, made his kingdom the firſt prize of his villainy; and then, not finding it practicable to take me off by the like wicked contrivance, whilſt I expected nothing at all of violence or war, has, in the face of your mighty power, driven me, as you ſee, from my country, from my home, in want of every thing, and under the heavieſt load of miſery, and yet more ſecure any where than in my own kingdom.

XVI. I really thought, O venerable fathers, as I had heard my father often ſay, that ſuch as took care to cultivate a friendſhip with you, muſt do it at the expence of much labour and pains, but were of all mankind the moſt ſecure. All that was in the power of our family to do, it did, that is, it aſſiſted you in all your wars: it is in your power to make us a return of peace and ſecurity, mighty fathers. My father left behind him us two brothers, and thought he ſhould make Jugurtha a third brother to us by the favours he heaped upon him. One of the three is already murdered, and I had much ado to eſcape the wicked hands of the other. What ſhall I do? Or whither ſhall I, unhappy man, apply myſelf? All

*gam?*

*gam? Aut quo potiſſumum infelix accedam? Generis præſidia omnia extincta ſunt; pater, uti neceſſe erat, naturæ conceſſit; fratri, quem minume decuit, propinquus per ſcelus vitam eripuit; adfinis, amicos, propinquos cæteros meos, alium alia clades oppreſſit; capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars beſtiis objecti ſunt; pauci, quibus relicta eſt anima, clauſi in tenebris cum mœrore & luctu morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut amiſi, aut ex neceſſariis advorſa facta ſunt, incolumia manerent; tamen, ſi quid ex improviſo mali accidiſſet, vos implorarem, patres conſcripti; quibus pro magnitudine imperii, jus & injurias omnis curæ eſſe decet. Nunc vero exſul patria, domo, ſolus atque omnium honeſtarum rerum egens, quos accedam, aut quos appellem? Nationeſne an reges, qui omnes familiæ noſtræ ob veſtram amicitiam infeſti ſunt? An quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hoſtilia monumenta plurima ſint? An quiſquam noſtri miſereri poteſt, qui aliquando vobis hoſtis fuit?*

the ſecurity to be had from my own family is gone. My father yielded, as neceſſity required, to the order of nature. My brother was villainouſly robbed of his life by a relation, who of all men ſhould have been the furtheſt from ſuch a crime. My friends and relations, whether by blood or marriage, have been all ruined, ſome one way, ſome another. Being taken priſoners, part of them have been crucified, whilſt others have been thrown to wild beaſts. A few whoſe lives were ſpared have been clapped up in dungeons, and lead a life in ſorrow and mourning, worſe than death. If I was in full poſſeſſion of all I have loſt, and my relations and friends were none of them my enemies, or unfortunate; yet, in caſe of a ſudden calamity ſurpriſing me, I ſhould mighty fathers, apply to you fo deliverance, whom, by reaſon o your vaſt dominion, it highly be comes to ſee right and juſtice don throughout the world. But nov whither ſhall I go, or to whon ſhall I apply, baniſhed as I ar from my country, my home, le alone, and in want of every th leaſt decent accommodation c life? Shall I apply to foreign na tions or princes, who are all mor tal enemies to our family upo account of our alliance with you Or can I go any whither, whe there are not very many mon ments of the valour of my a ceſtors employed againſt the cour try in your favour; Or can an one have compaſſion on me wh was ever an enemy to you?

XVI

XVII. *Poſtremo, Maſiniſſa nos ita inſtituit, P. C. ne quem coleremus, niſi populum Romanum; ne ſocietates, ne fœdera nova acciperemus; abunde magna præſidia nobis in veſtra amicitia fore; ſi huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis eſſe. Virtute ac diis volentibus, magni eſtis & opulenti, omnia ſecunda & obedientia ſunt; quo facilius ſociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parum cognita, tranſvorſos agat; quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos ſingulos, ne quid de abſente, incognita cauſſa, ſtatuatis; fingere me verba, & fugam ſimulare, cui licuerat in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miſerias projectus ſum, eadem hæc ſimulantem videam; & aliquando, aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur; ut ille, qui nunc ſceleribus ſuis ferox atque præclarus eſt, omnibus malis excruciatus, impietatis in parentem noſtrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miſeriarum gravis pœnas reddat. Jam jam frater animo meo cariſſu-*

XVII. Finally, worthy fathers, Maſiniſſa's inſtruction to our family ever was, to make no court to any but the Roman people, to engage in no alliances or treaties with any other power whatever; alledging that we ſhould find abundant ſecurity in your friendſhip alone; but that, if fortune ſhould turn upon the Roman power to its deſtruction, we muſt then of neceſſity periſh with it. By your own good conduct, and the favour of the gods, you are great and mighty; ſucceſs and ſubmiſſion attend you throughout the world, whereby you are enabled to redreſs with eaſe the injuries of your allies. All that I fear in the caſe is, leſt the friendſhip of Jugurtha with particular members of this ſtate, to whom he is not ſufficiently known, ſhould miſguide them in their conduct upon this occaſion; who, I am informed, are uſing their utmoſt endeavours, ſolliciting and importuning you by a very particular application, not to proceed to any reſolution againſt him, as he is not here himſelf, without a full hearing of his cauſe, 'Tis ſaid, that what I alledge is pretence only; as if I had not been forced to fly my kingdom, but might have continued in it if I would. Heavens grant I could but ſee the man, by whoſe impious violence I have been plunged into my preſent miſery, diſſembling as I do; and that at laſt either you, or the immortal gods, would take the affairs of mankind under your care. Then would the wretch, who now prides and triumphs in

*me, quamquam tibi immaturo, & unde minume decuit, vita erepta eſt, tamen lætandum magis, quàm dolendum, puto caſum tuum. Non enim regnum, ſed fugam, exſilium, egeſtatem, & has omnis, quæ me premunt, ærumnas, cum anima ſimul amiſiſti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus, pulſus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum ſpectaculum præbeo; incertus quid agam, tuaſne injurias perſequar, ipſe auxilii egens; an regno conſulam, cujus vitæ neciſque poteſtas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori, fortunis meis honeſtus exitus eſſet; ne vivere contemptus viderer, ſi defeſſus malis injuriæ conceſſiſſem. Nunc, neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet ſine dedecore. P. C. per vos, per liberos atque parentes veſtros, per majeſtatem populi Romani, ſubvenite miſero mihi; ite obviam injuriæ; nolite pati regnum Numidiæ, quod veſtrum eſt, per ſcelus & ſanguinem familiæ noſtræ tabeſcere.*

his villainy, by all imaginable miſery, ſuffer the vengeance due to him, for his wicked diſregard to the memory of our father, the murder of my brother, and reducing me to the woful condition I am now in. Now, now, O my dear, dear brother, though you were cut down in the prime of your days, and by a hand of all others that ſhould leaſt have been guilty of ſuch a fact; yet I cannot but think I have reaſon rather to rejoice at, than lament, your fall. For you did not ſo much loſe your kingdom with your life, as you eſcaped the wretched neceſſity of flight, baniſhment, want, and all that weight of woe, which lies ſo heavy upon me. But I, poor wretch, thrown headlong from the heigh[t] of my father's kingdom into th[e] loweſt depths of miſery, am a notorious inſtance of the uncertaint[y] of human affairs, not knowin[g] what to do; whether to proſecut[e] the revenge of the wrongs done t[o] you, helpleſs as I am, or endeavou[r] only the recovery of my kingdom whilſt the diſpoſal of me, with reſpect to life or death, is entirely i[n] the power of others. I could wiſ[h] death might put a decent end t[o] my life, to avoid the deſpicable appearance I muſt make; if tire[d] out by my misfortunes I muſt be obliged to be quiet under the injuſtice I have ſuffered. Now I have no inclination to life, an[d] yet I cannot die with honour. Now I beg of you, might[y] fathers, for the ſake of yourſelves, your children and parents, and the majeſty of the Roman people, relieve a poo[r] wretch, curb the violence of Jugurtha, and ſuffer not th[e] kingdom of Numidia, which is yours, to come to nothing by villainy, and the murder of our family.

XVIII

XVIII. Poſtquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ, largitione magis, quam cauſſa, freti, paucis reſpondent; *Hiempſalem, ob ſævitiam ſuam, ab Numidis interfectum: Atherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, poſtquam ſuperatus ſit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequiſſet; Jugurtham ab ſenatu petere, ne ſe alium putarent, ac Numantiæ cognitus eſſet; neu verba inimici ante facta ſua ponerent.* Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus ſtatim conſulitur. Fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars gratia depravata, Atherbalis dicta contemnere; Jugurthæ virtutem laudibus extollere; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno ſcelere & flagitio, ſua quaſi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum & æquum divitiis carius erat, ſubveniundum Atherbali, & Hiemſalis mortem ſevere vindicandam cenſebant. Sed ex omnibus maxume Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factioſus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum, cæterum vitia ſua calide occultans. Is, poſtquam videt regis largitionem famoſam impudentemque,

XVIII. *After the king had made an end of his ſpeech, the deputies of Jugurtha, depending more upon the bribes they had given than their cauſe, made a ſhort reply:* That Hiempſal had been murdered by the Numidians, becauſe of his cruelty; that Atherbal had been the aggreſſor in the late war, and becauſe he had been baffled therein, and could not do Jugurtha the miſchief he intended, he now complained; that Jugurtha begged of the ſenate, they would not take him to be any other man than what he had been known to be at Numantia, or ſhew more regard to the words of his enemy than to his actions. *Upon this, both parties quit the houſe, and the ſenate immediately went upon the affair. The favourers of the embaſſadors, and a great party beſide, made by the influence of their friends amongſt the former, ſlighted what was ſaid by Atherbal, highly extolled the conduct of Jugurtha, and by their intereſt, ſpeeching, and, in ſhort, all manner of means, ſtruggled as hard to cover Jugurtha's wickedneſs and infamous crimes, as if their own honour was at ſtake. On the other hand, a ſmall party, that regarded juſtice and equity more than money, adviſed to relieve Atherbal, and revenge ſeverely the death of Hiempſal. The moſt eminent amongſt theſe was Æmilius Scaurus, a perſon of noble deſcent, active, factious, greedy of power, honour, and riches, but cunningly concealing his vices. He, finding that the bribery carried*

que, veritus, quod in tali re ſolet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a conſueta lubidine continuit.

XIX. Vicit tamen in ſenatu pars illa, quæ vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, *uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipſa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham & Atherbalem dividerent.* Cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus, & tum in ſenatu potens, quia conſul, C. Graccho & M. Fulvio interfectis, acerrume vindictam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha, tametſi Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen accuratiſſume recepit; dando & pollicendo multa perfecit, uti famæ, fidei, poſtremo omnibus ſuis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via aggreſſus, pleroſque capit; paucis carior fides, quam pecunia fuit. In diviſione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam attingit, agro viriſque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur. Illam alteram, ſpecie, quam uſu, potiorem, quæ portuoſior, & ædificiis magis exornata erat, Atherbal poſſedit. Res poſtulare

*on by the king was notorious and barefaced, fearing, as it uſually happens in ſuch a caſe, leſt the vaſt licence taken in that matter ſhould inflame the general odium againſt the parties guilty, had laid a reſtraint upon his vicious inclination.*

XIX. *However, the party that preferred money or favour before the truth prevailed in the ſenate; and a vote paſſed* for the appointment of ten commiſſioners, to divide the kingdom which Micipſa had had betwixt Jugurtha and Atherbal. *The firſt commiſſioner was L. Opimius, a perſon of great figure, and of vaſt weight at that time in the houſe; becauſe, when he was conſul, he had taken off C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, and after that ſucceſs had furiouſly executed the vengeance of the nobility upon the commons. And, tho' he had been one of Jugurtha's friends at Rome, yet, upon his arrival in Africa, he received him with huge ceremony; and by giving him money, and promiſing more, he ſo far wrought upon him, that he preferred the king's intereſt before his own credit, honour, and, in ſhort, every thing elſe. Jugurtha went to work in the ſame manner with the reſt of the commiſſioners, and corrupted moſt of them. A few of them valued their honour more than money. In the diviſion of the kingdom, that part of Numidia which borders upon Mauritania, and is much the more conſiderable for goodneſs of ſoil and number of people, was aſſigned to Jugurtha. Atherbal had the other, preferable in appearance, but not reality, as having more*

videtur

videtur Africæ ſitum paucis exponere; & eas gentis, quibuſcum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere. Sed quæ loca & nationes, ob calorem, aut aſperitatem, item ſolitudines, minus frequentata ſunt, de iis haud facile compertum narraverim; cætera quam pauciſſumis abſolvam.

XX. In diviſione orbis terræ, plerique in parte tertia Africam poſuere; pauci tantummodo Aſiam & Europam eſſe; ſed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet ab occidente fretum noſtri maris & oceani; ab ortu ſolis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant. Mare ſævum, importuoſum. Ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infœcundus; cœlo terraque penuria aquarum; genus hominum ſalubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; pleroſque ſenectus diſſolvit, niſi qui ferro aut a beſtiis interiere. Nam morbus haud ſæpe quemquam ſuperat. Ad hoc, malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique poſtea acceſſerint, aut quo modo inter ſe permixti ſint; quamquam ab ea fama, quæ pleroſque obtinet,

*harbours and fine buildings in it. And here, I judge, it may not be improper to give a ſhort account of the ſituation of Africa, and of thoſe nations we have had any war or alliance with. But, as for thoſe parts and nations which, becauſe of their exceſſive heat, their being rocky or deſart, are leſs frequented, I can ſay little with any certainty; but the reſt I ſhall diſpatch with all poſſible brevity.*

XX. *In the diviſion of the earth, moſt authors reckon Africa a third part. Some reckon indeed but two, Aſia and Europe; but then they count Africa in Europe. That is bounded on the weſt by the ſtreight, which makes the communication betwixt our ſea and the ocean, on the eaſt by a wide declivity, called by the natives Catabathmos. The ſea bordering upon it is boiſterous, where there are few or no harbours. The country is fruitful in grain of all kinds, and good for feeding of cattle, but produces very few trees; water is ſcarce, as well ſpring water as rain. The natives are healthy, ſwift of foot, and hardy. Moſt of them die of old age, except ſuch as periſh by the ſword or wild beaſts: for a diſeaſe ſeldom diſpatches them. But then it abounds with noxious creatures. Now, as to the firſt inhabitants of this country, and thoſe that in ſucceeding ages ſettled there, and how they incorporated, I ſhall give a very brief account, different indeed from the common one, but ſuch as was interpreted to me out of the Carthaginian books, which were ſaid*

diverſum eſt, tamen, ut ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempſalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis eſt, utique rem ſeſe habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam pauciſſimis dicam. Cæterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

*to be king Hiempſal's, and what the people of that country take to be fact. But let the authors anſwer for the credibility of it.*

XXI. Africam initio habuere Gætuli & Libyes, aſperi incultique; queis cibus erat caro ferina, atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, aut imperio cujuſquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, quas nox coegerat, ſedes habebant. Sed poſtquam in Hiſpania Hercules, ſicuti Afri putant, interiit; exercitus ejus, compoſitus ex gentibus variis, amiſſo duce, ac paſſim multis ſibi quiſque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Perſæ, & Armenii, navibus in Africam tranſvecti, proxumos noſtro mari locos occupavere. Sed Perſæ intra oceanum magis; hique alveos navium inverſos pro tuguriis habuere; quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hiſpanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat. Mare magnum & ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim per connubia Gætulos ſecum miſcuere; & quia, ſæpe tentantes agros, alia deinde alia loca petiverant, ſemet

XXI. *The original inhabitants of Africa were the Getulians and the Lybians, a rough unpoliſhed people, who lived upon fleſh taken in hunting, or upon herbs, like cattle. Theſe were under no manner of confinement from cuſtom, law, or government; but ſtrolling about here and there, took up their lodging where the night happened to overtake them. But after Hercules died in Spain, as the Africans have it, his army, that was made up of divers nations, upon the loſs of their leader, and a buſtle made by a competition for the command, diſperſed in a ſhort time. Of that number the Medes, the Perſians, and Armenians, paſſing over by ſhipping into Africa, ſeized upon thoſe parts of it that lie upon our ſea. But the Perſians lay more upon the ocean. They made uſe of their ſhips turned bottom upwards for houſes; becauſe there was no wood in that country, nor had they any opportunity of buying any, or trucking for it with the Spaniards. A wide ſea, and a language to them unknown, rendered all commerce impracticable. By degrees, they by intermarriages mixed with the Getulians; and, becauſe they were often ſhifting about from place to place to try the goodneſs of the ſoil, they called themſelves Numidians. To this*

ſemet ipſi Numidas appellavere. Cæterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agreſtium, quæ *Mapalia* illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quaſi navium carinæ ſunt. Medis autem & Armeniis acceſſere Libyes. Nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant. Gætuli ſub ſole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus; hique mature oppida habuere. Nam freto diviſi ab Hiſpania, mutare res inter ſe inſtituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara linguâ Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Perſarum brevi adolevit; ac poſtea Nomo-Numidæ, propter multitudinem, a parentibus digreſſi, poſſidere ea loca, quæ proxuma Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Deinde, utrique alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu ſub imperium ſuum coegere; nomen gloriamque ſibi addidere; magis hi, qui ad noſtrum mare proceſſerant; quia Libyes, quam Gætuli, minus bellicoſi. Denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis poſſeſſa eſt. Victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium conceſſere.

*day the cottages of the Numidians, which they call* Mapalia, *are of an oblong form, with the ſides bending out, like the hulls of ſhips. The Libyans joined the Medes and Armenians, who lived nearer the African ſea. The Getulians lie more to the ſun, not far from the hotteſt part of the torrid zone. And theſe quickly built towns. For, being divided only by a narrow ſea from Spain, they carried on a traffick there. But the Libyans by degrees altered their name, calling them in their language Mauri, inſtead of Medi. But the Perſians became in a ſhort time a flouriſhing people. Afterwards too the Nomo-Numidians, by reaſon of their vaſt numbers, ſeparating from their parents, poſſeſſed themſelves of the country about Carthage, which is called Numidia. After that, both parties depending upon the mutual aſſiſtance of one another did, by force of arms, or the fear thereof, bring their neighbours under ſubjection to them, and acquired to themſelves a mighty name and great glory; but eſpecially thoſe who bordered upon our ſea, becauſe the Libyans are leſs warlike than the Getulians. Finally, the lower part of Africa was moſt of it over-run by the Numidians. And the conquered people mixed with, and went by the name of, the conquerors.*

XXII. Poſtea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratia, pars

XXII. *Afterwards the Phœnicians, ſome to leſſen the over-great crowds at home, and others out of*

 imperii

imperii cupidine, ſolicitata plebe, & aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliaſque urbis in ora maritima condidere. Hæque brevi multum auctæ, pars originibus ſuis præſidio, aliæ decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine ſilere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africa dividit, ſecundo mari prima Cyrene eſt, colonia Thereon; ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, interque eas Leptis; deinde Philenon aræ; quem locum Ægyptum verſus finem imperii habuere Carthaginienſes; poſt aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cætera loca uſque ad Mauritaniam Numidæ tenent. Proxume Hiſpaniam Mauri ſunt. Super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus, partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; poſt eos Æthiopas eſſe; dein loca exuſta ſolis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida, & finis Carthaginienſium, quos noviſſume habuerant, populus Romanus per magiſtratus adminiſtrabat. Gætulorum magna pars, & Numidæ uſque ad flumen Mulucham ſub Ju-

*a deſire of power, engaging many of the commonalty to put themſelves under their leading and direction, as well as others that were fond of novelty, built Hippo, Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other cities upon the ſea-coaſt. And theſe, growing conſiderably in a little time, were partly a ſecurity, and partly an ornament to their founders. For, as to Carthage, I think it better to ſay nothing at all of it, than but a little, becauſe I am in haſte to return to my proper ſubject. Wherefore by Catabathmos, which place divides Ægypt from Africa, down the ſea, firſt occurs Cyrene, a colony of the Thereans. Then follow the two Syrtes, and Leptis betwixt them; then the altars of the Philenians, which were the boundary of the Carthaginian empire to the ſide of Ægypt; after them ſucceed other Carthaginian cities. The reſt of Africa, as far as Mauritania, the Numidians are poſſeſſed of. The Moors are next to Spain. The Getulians, we are told, lie about Numidia, who part of them live in huts, part wander about, without any ſettled habitation. Beyond them lie the Æthiopians; beyond whom the country is burnt up with exceſſive heat. In the time of the war againſt Jugurtha, the Roman people governed moſt of the Punick towns, as well as the country, that had been under the ſubjection of the Carthaginians, by magiſtrates of their own. A great part of the Getulians, and the Numidians as far as the river Mulucha, were under Jugurtha.*

gurtha

ırtha erant; Mauris om-
bus rex Bocchus im-
ɛritabat, præter nomen,
etera ignarus populi Ro-
ani; itemque nobis
ɛque bello, neque pace
ıtea cognitus. De Africa
ejus incolis, ad neceſſi-
dinem rei ſatis dictum.

XXIII. Poſtquam, di-
ſo regno, legati Africa
ceſſere; & Jugurtha,
ntra timorem animi,
æmia ſceleris adeptum
ſe videt; certum ratus,
ıod ex amicis apud Nu-
antiam acceperat, om-
a Romæ venalia eſſe;
nul & illorum pollici-
tionibus accenſus, quos
ullo ante muneribus
pleverat, in regnum
therbalis animum in-
ıdit. Ipſe acer, belli-
ſus; at is, quem pe-
bat, quietus, imbellis,
ıcido ingenio, opportu-
s injuriæ, metuens ma-
, quam metuendus.
itur ex improviſo finis
ıs cum magna manu
vadit; multos mortalis
m pecore atque alia
æda capit; ædificia in-
ndit; pleraque loca ho-
liter cum equitatu acce-
t. Dein cum omni
ultitudine in regnum
um convertit, exiſtu-
ans dolore permotum
therbalem injurias ſuas
anu vindicaturum, eam-
ıe rem belli cauſſam
re. At ille, quod ne-

*King Bocchus ruled over all the Moors, a ſtranger to the Romans, any farther than their name, and not known to us before, either by peace or war. But this may ſuffice my purpoſe to ſay of Africa and its inhabitants.*

XXIII. *After the Roman commiſſioners had divided the kingdom, and left Africa, and Jugurtha, contrary to his fears, ſaw himſelf rewarded for his villainy, taking it now for a certainty which he had heard from his friends at Numantia, that all things were to be ſold at Rome, being likewiſe puſhed on by the promiſes of thoſe whom he had but a little before loaded with preſents, he reſolved to have Atherbal's kingdom from him. He was himſelf an active, warlike man; but he whom he deſigned to attack, a quiet, weak, meek-ſpirited creature, unable to defend himſelf, and more fearful of others, then to be feared by any. Wherefore Jugurtha invades his country with a great army, takes abundance of men, cattle, and other plunder; fires towns, and over-runs almoſt all the country with his horſe. And when he had done he returned with all his forces into his own kingdom, ſuppoſing Atherbal would reſent and revenge the abuſe, and ſo a war would enſue upon it. But he, not looking upon himſelf as a match for the other in war, and depending more upon the friendſhip of the Roman people than his Numidian ſubjects, ſent deputies to Jugurtha, to complain*

que

que ſe parem armis exiſtumabat, & amicitia populi Romani magis, quam Numidis, fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis queſtum miſit; qui, tametſi contumelioſa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum ſumere; quia tentatum antea ſecus ceſſerat. Neque eo magis cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur; quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaſerat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum prædatorio manu, ſed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere cœpit, & aperte totius Numidiæ imperium petere. Cæterum, qua pergebat, urbis, agros vaſtare prædas agere; ſuis animum, hoſtibus terrorem augere.

*of the injuſtice done him. And, though they brought but a rude anſwer back again, yet he reſolved to ſuffer any thing rather than engage in a war, having had ſuch ill ſucceſs in the former. However Jugurtha's greedy humour was no hereby leſſened at all, as having in his own thoughts already devoured his whole kingdom. Wherefore he begun now to make war not, as before, with a band of plunderers only, but with a numerou and a regular army; and now avowedly claimed for himſelf th kingdom of all Numidia; and wherever he came, laid waſt and plundered both town and country, put life into his own men and encreaſed more and more th fright the enemy was in.*

XXIV. Atherbal, ubi intelligit eo proceſſum, uti regnum aut relinquendum eſſet, aut armis retinendum, neceſſario copias parat, & Jugurthæ obvius procedit. Interim, haud longe a mari prope Cirtam oppidum, utriuſque conſedit exercitus; &, quia diei extremum erat, prælium non inceptum. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis proceſſit, obſcuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, ſigno dato, caſtra hoſtium invadunt; ſemiſomnos partim, alios arma ſumentis fugant funduntque. Atherbal cum paucis equi-

XXIV. *Atherbal, finding ma ters were come to that paſs, th he muſt either quit his kingdom, keep it by force of arms, was n ceſſitated to raiſe troops, and mar againſt Jugurtha. In the me time, both armies encamped n far from the ſea, nigh the to of Cirta; and, becauſe the day w almoſt ſpent, they did not enga in battle. But when the night w almoſt over, about twilight, t ſoldiers of Jugurtha had the ſi nal given them, and made an a ſault upon the enemy's camp, p to flight and diſperſed them, wh ſome were half aſleep, and oth were taking to their arms. Athe bal, with a few horſe, made eſcape to Cirta; and, had there been a good number of Romans*

til

is Cirtam profugit; ni multitudo togatorum fuiſſet, quæ Numi- inſequentis mœnibus hibuit, uno die inter os reges cœptum atque ratum foret bellum. tur Jugurtha oppidum cumſedit; vineis, turuſque & machinis nium generum expugie aggreditur; maxume inans tempus legaton antecapere, quos anprælium factum Rom ab Atherbale miſſos liverat. Sed, poſtquam atus de bello eorum cepit, tres adoleſcentes Africam legantur, qui bos reges adeant; S. Q. R. verbis nuncient, *le & cenſere eos ab ars diſcedere; de controrſiis ſuis, jure potius am bello diſceptare: ita ue illiſque dignum eſſe.*

XXV. Legati Africam aturantes veniunt; eo agis, quod Romæ, dum oficiſci parant, de prœfacto, & oppugnatione irtæ audiebatur. Sed is mor clemens erat. uorum Jugurtha acepta oratione reſpondit; *i neque majus quidiam, neque carius auctotate ſenati eſſe; ab adoſcentia ſua ita ſe eniſum, ab optumo quoque proaretur. Virtute, non alitia, P. Scipioni, ſumo viro placuiſſe; ob eaſ-*

*town, who repulſed the Numidians in purſuit of him from the walls, the war betwixt the two kings had been begun and ended in one day. Upon this, Jugurtha laid cloſe ſiege to the town, and endeavours, by means of vineæ, towers, and engines of all ſorts, to take it; making all the haſte he could to be before-hand with the deputies he heard had been ſent to Rome by Atherbal before the battle. But, after the ſenate were informed of this war, three young gentlemen were diſpatched by them into Africa, with orders to apply to both kings, and acquaint them,* That it was the pleaſure of the ſenate and people of Rome, they ſhould both be quiet, and decide their diſputes in the way of reaſon, and not of war, as what would be more for the honour of the Romans and themſelves too.

XXV. *The deputies make all poſſible haſte into Africa, and the rather, becauſe whilſt they were preparing for their journey, news arrived in Rome of the battle, and the ſiege of Cirta; but ſuch too as leſſened very much the odiouſneſs of the facts. Jugurtha, upon hearing the deputies, replied,* That he was ready to pay the utmoſt deference to the authority of the ſenate; he had endeavoured from his youth to behave in ſuch a manner as to gain the approbation of the beſt of men, and had recommended himſelf to the favour of that great man P. Sci-

*dem*

*dem artis a Micipſa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum eſſe. Cæterum, quo plura bene atque ſtrenue feciſſet, eo animum ſuum injuriam minus tolerare. Atherbalem dolis vitæ ſuæ inſidiatum; quod ubi comperiſſet, ſceleri obvium iſſe. Populum Romanum neque recte, neque pro bono facturum, ſi ab jure gentium ſeſe prohibuerit. Poſtremo, de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi miſſurum.* Ita utrique digrediuntur. Atherbalis appellandi copia non fuit. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africa deceſſiſſe ratus eſt, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare poteſt, vallo atque foſſa mœnia circumdat; turris extruit, easque præſidiis firmat; præterea dies noctiſque, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare; defenſoribus mœnium præmia modo, modo formidinem oſtentare; ſuos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorſus intentus cuncta parare. Atherbal ubi intelligit omnis fortunas ſuas in extremo ſitas, hoſtem infeſtum, auxilii ſpem nullam, penuria rerum neceſſariarum bellum trahi non poſſe, ex iis, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxume impigros delegit; eos,

pio by his virtue, not wickedneſ He had likewiſe been adopted b Micipſa to ſucceed in his king dom for the ſame good qualitie and not for want of ſons. B the better he had behaved, th more he reſented any abuſe. Th Atherbal had formed a plot again his life, upon the diſcovery which he had endeavoured to pr vent him. That the Roman pe ple would not do well, or de fairly by him, if they debarr him from the common right nations. Finally, he told the he ſhould ſhortly ſend deputies Rome about all matters. *Aft this anſwer they parted. T Roman deputies could not get i the town to ſpeak to Atherb When Jugurtha thought they w departed from Africa, finding impoſſible to take Cirta by aſſau becauſe of the natural ſtrength the place, he blocks it up cloſely all ſides with a rampart and ditch; builds towers, and fills th with armed men; and, beſid makes frequent attempts upon by day and by night, in the way open force or ſtratagem; ply the beſieged one while with p miſes, and another while w threats; and at the ſame ti animating his men to do th utmoſt. In ſhort, he puſhed buſineſs with all poſſible applic tion and eagerneſs. Atherbal, fi ing himſelf reduced to the laſt tremity, his enemy bent upon deſtruction, no hopes of aſſiſtan and that the war could not be c tinued for want of neceſſari chuſes from among thoſe that h*

mu

ulta pollicendo ac miſe-
ndo caſum ſuum, con-
mat, uti per hoſtium
unitiones noctu ad
oximum mare, dein
omam pergerent. Nu-
idæ paucis diebus juſſa
iciunt. Literæ Ather-
lis in ſenatu recitatæ,
arum ſententia hæ fuit.

XXVI. *Non mea cul-
ſæpe ad vos oratum
tto, P. C. ſed vis Ju-
rthæ ſubigit; quem
nta lubido me extin-
endi invaſit, uti neque
s neque deos immortalis
animo habeat; ſangui-
m meum, quam omnia,
alit. Itaque quintum
m menſem ſocius & ami-
s populi Romani armis
ſſus teneor; neque mihi
Iicipſæ patris mei bene-
ia, neque veſtra decreta
ixiliantur. Ferro an
me acrius urgear, in-
rtus ſum. Plura de
ugurtha ſcribere dehor-
tur me fortuna mea.
tiam antea expertus ſum,
arum fidei miſeris eſſe.
Viſi tamen intelligo il-
um, ſupra quam ego ſum,
etere; neque ſimul ami-
itiam veſtram & reg-
um meum ſperare; u-
rum gravius exiſtumet,
emini occultum eſt. Nam
nitio occidit Hiempſalem
ratrem meum; deinde
atrio regno me expulit.
Quæ ſanæ fuerint noſtræ*

*eſcaped along with him to Cirta two of the moſt active, and by large promiſes and lamenting his condition, prevails with them to get through the enemies' lines in the night-time down to the ſea, and from thence to go to Rome. The Numidians execute their orders in a few days. Atherbal's letter wos read in the ſenate, which was to the following effect.*

XXVI. 'Tis no fault of mine, illuſtrious fathers, that I trouble you with ſuch frequent meſſages; but I am obliged to it by the violence of Jugurtha, who is ſo madly bent upon my deſtruction, that he has no regard to you or the immortal gods, but had rather have my blood than all things in the world beſides. And therefore I, an ally and friend of the Roman people, have been cloſely beſieged for five months together; whilſt neither the ſervices of my father Micipſa, nor your decrees, avail at all to my relief. I am unable to tell you, whether I am more diſtreſſed by ſword or by famine. My circumſtances diſcourage me from enlarging in my complaints againſt Jugurtha. I have found by experience, the unfortunate have but little credit. But, however, I am ſenſible he has ſomething in view beyond my deſtruction, and never expects to enjoy your friendſhip and my kingdom together Which of the two he is moſt ambitiouſly fond of can be no ſecret to any body. For he firſt of all murdered my brother Hiempſal, and then forced me from my father's kingdom. Let thoſe be acts

*injuriæ;*

*injuriæ ; nihil ad vos. Verum nunc regnum veſtrum armis tenet ; me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis poſuiſtis, clauſum obſidet ; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid eſt reliquum, niſi vis veſtra, qua moveri poſſit? Nam ego quidem vellem, & hæc quæ ſcribo, & illa quæ antea in ſenatu queſtus ſum, vana forent potius, quam miſeria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eo natus ſum, ut Jugurthæ ſcelerum oſtentui eſſem ; non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium, & cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod veſtrum eſt, uti lubet, conſulite, me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majeſtatem imperii, per amicitiæ fidem, ſi ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Maſiniſſæ.*

XXVII. His literis recitatis, fuere qui exercitum in Africam mittendum cenſerent, & quam primum Atherbali ſubveniundum ; de Jugurtha interim uti conſuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruiſſet. Sed ab iiſdem illis regis fautoribus ſumma ope eniſum, ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut

of injuſtice to us, which no wa affect you. Yet now he keeps, force of arms, a kingdom that yours, and beſieges me, whom y appointed king of the Numidian then too how much he mind the remonſtrances of your dep ties, my danger ſufficiently ſhew What remains therefore to mo him, but force on your par For I could wiſh, that what now write, and what I befo complained of to you, had n thing of truth in it, rather th that my miſery ſhould gain cre to what I ſay. But, ſince I w born to manifeſt to the world my perſon the villainies of J gurtha, I beg not a delivery fro death or miſery, but the hands Jugurtha, and the cruel torture muſt expect from him. Diſpo of the kingdom of Numidi which is yours, as you pleaſe. B I beſeech you, by the majeſty your mighty power, and the h nour of our alliance, deliver n from thoſe impious hands, if y have any reſpect for the memo of my grandfather Maſiniſſa.

XXVII. *After the reading this letter, ſome were for ſendi an army over into Africa, and r lieving Atherbal forthwith, an conſidering in the mean while i what way to proceed againſt Ju gurtha for ſlighting their meſſag to him. But this was ſtrenuou oppoſed by ſuch as had before fa voured the cauſe of Jugurtha Thus was the publick good, as i commonly falls out, baffled by pri vate intereſt. However, ſome el*

ii

n pleriſque negotiis ſolet, ɔrivata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu nobiles, amplis honoribus uſi, n queis fuit M. Scaurus, e quo ſupra memoravinus, conſularis, & tum enati princeps. Hi, quod n invidia res erat, ſimul z a Numidis obſecrati, riduo navim adſcendere; ein brevi Uticam adpul- literas ad Jugurtham nittunt, *quam ocyſſume d provinciam accedat*; *ad eum ab ſenatu miſ- s.* Ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum uctoritatem Romæ pol- re audiverat, contra inœptum ſuum veniſſe; rimo commotus metu tque lubidine divorſus gitabatur. Timebat iram enati, ni paruiſſet legas; porro animus cupiine cæcus ad incœptum celus rapiebat. Vicit tanen in avido ingenio ravum conſilium. Igiur, exercitu circumdato, ımma vi Cirtam irrumere nititur; maxume perans, diducta manu oſtium, aut vi aut dolis eſe caſum victoriæ inenturum. Quod ubi ecus procedit, neque, uod intenderat, efficere oteſt, uti prius, quam egatos conveniret, Aherbalis potiretur; ne mplius morando Scaurum,

*derly noblemen, that had run through the great offices of ſtate, are diſpatched over into Africa; among whom was M. Scaurus mentioned above, a conſular gentleman, and then at the head of the ſenate. Theſe gentlemen, as there was a general outcry againſt Jugurtha's behaviour, and the Numidians vehemently preſſed them for diſpatch, went aboard a ſhip in three days' time, and arriving ſoon after at Utica, ſend a letter to Jugurtha, with orders* to repair forthwith to them in the province; for that they had a meſſage to him from the ſenate. *Upon finding that perſons of high rank. and of very great ſway at Rome, as he had been informed, were come to oppoſe his deſigns, he was much ſhocked, and diſtracted betwixt fear and a paſſionate deſire to carry his point againſt Atherbal. He feared the ſenate's reſentment, if he did not obey the commiſſioners; and then again, his mind, blinded with ambition, hurried him on to the completion of his wicked enterprize. The worſe of the two things propoſed to his choice at laſt wrought upon his ambitious ſoul. Wherefore, drawing his army quite round the place, he uſes his utmoſt efforts to break into Cirta; being in great hopes that, by thus dividing the force of the enemy, he might hit upon ſome lucky chance for ſucceſs, either by force or cunning. But, miſcarrying in his deſign of getting Atherbal into his hands before he attended the commiſſioners, for fear of provoking Scaurus, whom he much dreaded,*

rum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametſi ſenati verbis minæ graves nunciabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non deſiſteret; multa tamen oratione conſumpta, legati fruſtra diſceſſere.

*by his delay, he came, attended with a few horſe, into the province. And tho' they did, in the name of the ſenate, threaten him very ſeverely, for not raiſing the ſiege, yet after a deal of wrangle upon the ſubject, the commiſſioners departed, without being able to move him in the leaſt.*

XXVIII. Ea poſtquam Cirtæ audita ſunt, Italici, quorum virtute mœnia defenſabantur, confiſi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos ſeſe fore, Atherbali ſuadent, uti ſeque & oppidum Jugurthæ tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciſcatur; de cæteris ſenatui curæ fore. At ille, tametſi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur, tamen, quia penes eoſdem, ſi advorſaretur, cogendi poteſtas erat, ita, uti cenſuerant Italici, deditionem fecit. Igitur Jugurtha in primis Atherbalem excruciatum necat; dein omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiſcue, uti quiſque armatus obvius fuerat, interfecit.

XXVIII. *When the news of this was brought to Cirta, the Italians, by whom the town had been defended, ſuppoſing, in caſe of a ſurrender, that they, upon account of the Roman grandeur, ſhould come to no damage, adviſe Atherbal to deliver up himſelf and the town to Jugurtha, articling for life only; ſince other matters the ſenate would take care of. But, though he abhorred above all things the thoughts of truſting Jugurtha, yet becauſe it was in their power, if he refuſed, to force him to a compliance, he did ſurrender, as the Italians adviſed him. Whereupon Jugurtha, in the firſt place, puts Atherbal to death with torture; and then put all the Numidians of age, and the merchants too, that appeared in arms, without diſtinction, to the ſword.*

XXIX. Quod poſtquam Romæ cognitum eſt, & res in ſenatu agitari cœpta; iidem illi miniſtri regis, interpellando, ac ſæpe gratia,

XXIX. *As ſoon as this was known at Rome, and the matter begun to be debated in the ſenate, the ſame penſioners to the king, by obſtructing proceedings, and ſpinning out the buſineſs, by their*

inter

interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis deſignatus, vir acer & infeſtus potentiæ nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuiſſet, *id agi, uti per paucos factioſos Jugurthæ ſcelus condonaretur*, profecto omnis invidia, prolatandis conſultationibus, dilapſa foret. Tanta vis gratiæ atque pecuniæ regis erat. Sed ubi ſenatus delicti conſcientia populum timet; lege Sempronia provinciæ futuris conſulibus Numidia atque Italia decretæ; conſules declarati P. Scipio Naſica, L. Beſtia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit. Dein exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, ſcribitur; ſtipendium, aliaque, quæ bello uſui forent, decernuntur.

XXX. At Jugurtha, contra ſpem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romæ omnia venire, in animo hæſerat, filium & cum eo duos familiaris ad ſenatum legatos mittit; iiſque, ut illis quos Hiempſale interfecto miſerat, præcipit, *omnis mortalis pecunia aggrediantur*. Qui poſtquam Romam adventabant, ſenatus a Beſtia conſultus eſt, *placeretne legatos Jugurthæ*

*intereſt in the members, and wrangling together, endeavoured to leſſen the odiouſneſs of the fact. And had not C. Memmius, tribune of the commons elect, a briſk man, and an avowed enemy to the power of the nobility, informed the Roman people,* that the deſign was to ſcreen Jugurtha from the puniſhment due to his wickedneſs, by the means of a few leading men, *all the odium of the thing, by the dilatory proceedings of the ſenate, would have vaniſhed. Such weight had the king's intereſt and money together amongſt them. But when the ſenate, from a ſenſe of their own guilt, begun to be apprehenſive of the people's reſentment, a bill was preferred to the people, and paſſed, whereby the provinces appointed for the ſucceeding conſuls, were Numidia and Italy; P. Scipio Naſica, and L. Beſtia Calpurnius, were made conſuls; and Numidia fell to Calpurnius; and Italy to Scipio. Then an army was levied for Africa; money, and other things neceſſary for the war, voted.*

XXX. *But Jugurtha, ſurpriſed at the news of this, as who had been full of a perſuaſion, that all things were to be had for money at Rome, diſpatches away his ſon, and two ambaſſadors with him, to the ſenate, and orders them, as he had before done thoſe he ſent after the murder of Hiempſal,* to bribe all about them, wherever they came. *After their arrival at Rome, the ſenate was conſulted by Beſtia, to know their pleaſure,* Whether the ambaſſadors of Jugurtha ſhould be admitted into the



*gurthæ*

*gurthæ recipi mœnibus*; iique decrevere, *ni regnum ipſumque deditum veniſſent, ut in diebus proxumis decem Italia decederent.* Conſul Numidis ex ſenati decreto nunciari jubet. Ita infectis rebus illi domum diſcedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat ſibi homines nobilis, factioſos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquiſſet, munito fore ſperabat; in quein fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura & habitu ſupra memoravimus. Nam in conſule noſtro multæ bonæque artes animi & corporis erant; quas omnis avaritia præpediebat. Patiens laborum, acri ingenio, ſatis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmiſſumus contra pericula & inſidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam tranſvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius, initio paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingreſſus eſt; multoſque mortalis & urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.

XXXI. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod adminiſtrabat, aſperitatem oſtendere cœpit; animus æger avaritia facile converſus eſt. Cæterum ſocius & adminiſter

city, or no. *And the ſenate voted thereupon,* That unleſs they were come to ſurrender both Jugurtha and his kingdom, they ſhould be gone out of Italy in ten days time. *Which, by order of the ſenate, the conſul ſignified to the Numidians; and accordingly they went home, without doing any thing. In the mean time, Calpurnius having raiſed an army, chuſes for his lieutenant-generals, noblemen of the greateſt intereſt; by the authority of whom, he hoped, the crimes he propoſed to commit, might paſs unpuniſhed. Amongſt theſe was Scaurus, whoſe character I have given above. For our conſul had many excellent qualities, both of body and mind, the exerciſe whereof was much obſtructed by his covetouſneſs. He was hardy, of ſhrewd parts, a man of great foreſight, and well verſed in the buſineſs of war, and much upon his guard againſt all danger and ſurprize. The legions were led thro' Italy to Rhegium, from thence carried over to Sicily, and from Sicily to Africa. Where Calpurnius providing his army, in the firſt place, with all neceſſaries, very briſkly entered Numidia, took abundance of priſoners, and ſeveral cities ſword in hand.*

XXXI. *But after Jugurtha begun by his meſſengers to lay the money-bait in his way, and to make him ſenſible of the difficulty of the war, his mind, over-run with the diſtemper of covetouſneſs, begun to faulter. Scaurus he made his partner and aſſiſtant in all his mea-*

omni-

omnium conſiliorum aſ-
ſumitur Scaurus; qui ta-
metſi a principio, pleriſ-
que ex factione ejus cor-
ruptis, acerrume regem
impugnaverat; tamen,
magnitudine pecuniæ,
a bono honeſtoque in
pravum abſtractus eſt.
Sed Jugurtha primum
tantummodo belli mo-
ram redimebat, exiſtu-
mans ſeſe aliquid interim
Romæ pretio aut gratia
effecturum. Poſtea vero
quam participem negotii
Scaurum accepit, in
maxumam ſpem adduc-
tus recuperandæ pacis,
ſtatuit cum eis de omni-
bus pactionibus præſens
agere. Cæterum interea
fidei cauſſa mittitur a
conſule Sextius quæſtor
in oppidum Jugurthæ
Vaccam; cujus rei ſpeci-
es erat acceptio frumenti,
quod Calpurnius palam
legatis imperaverat; quo-
niam deditionis mora in-
duciæ agitabantur. Igitur
rex, uti conſtituerat, in
caſtra venit; ac pauca
præſenti concilio locutus
de invidia facti ſui, atque
ut in deditionem accipe-
retur, reliqua cum Beſtia
& Scauro ſecreta tranſigit;
dein poſtero die, quaſi per
ſaturam ſententiis exqui-
ſitis, in deditionem acci-
pitur. Sed, uti pro con-
cilio imperatum erat, ele-
phanti xxx, pecus atque

*ſures; who though at firſt, when moſt of his party had been corrupted, he had violently oppoſed the king; yet was he at laſt driven, by the dint of hard bribery, from his integrity, to patronize the wickedneſs of Jugurtha; who at firſt purchaſed only a ſuſpenſion of the war, in hopes to carry his point, in the mean time, at Rome, by bribery or intereſt. But when he found Scaurus was engaged in his favour, in ſtrong confidence of compaſſing a peace, he reſolved to enter into a perſonal treaty with them, in relation to all concerns whatever. But in the mean time, Sextius the quæſtor is diſpatched, by way of ſecurity, into a town of Jugurtha, called Vacca, under pretence of receiving corn, which Calpurnius had ordered the deputies to provide for his army; becauſe there was now a truce, in order to Jugurtha's making a ſurrender of himſelf. Wherefore the king, according to his appointment, came into the camp. And after he had ſpoke very briefly, with relation to the odium his late conduct had brought upon him, in the hearing of a council of war, and deſired he might be admitted to an honourable ſurrender, he treated with Beſtia and Scaurus in private about their other affairs; and then the day after, the opinion of the council as to divers particulars, being taken together, and in a hurry, he is admitted to a ſurrender. But, agreeably to what had been enjoined him, in the preſence of the council, thirty elephants, ſome cattle, and abundance of horſes, with*

 equi

equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere, quæſtori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magiſtratus rogandos proficiſcitur. In Numidia & exercitu noſtro pax agitabatur.

XXXII. Poſtquam res in Africa geſtas, quoque modo actæ forent, fama divulgavit; Romæ per omnis locos & conventus de facto conſulis agitari. Apud plebem gravis invidia; patres ſoliciti erant; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum conſulis ſubverterent, parum conſtabat. Ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor & ſocius Beſtiæ ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii, & odio potentiæ nobilitatis ſupra diximus, inter dubitationem & moras ſenati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem ſuam deſererent; multa ſuperba, & crudelia facinora nobilitatis oſtendere; prorſus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempeſtate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollenſque fuit, decere exiſtumavi unam ex tam multis orationem ejus preſcribere; ac potiſſumum ea dicam, quæ in

*a ſmall quantity of ſilver, are delivered up to the quæſtor. Calpurnius goes to Rome, to preſide in the election of new magiſtrates; whilſt all was now quiet in Numidia, and our army.*

XXXII. *When common fam had now divulged the tranſaction in Africa, with the manner o them, the behaviour of the conſu was the ſubject of much converſation, in all places and companies a Rome. The commons were hugei incenſed at the buſineſs; and tl ſenate in great perplexity. The knew not whether they ſhould ra tify ſo vile a piece of conduct, c make void all that had been reſo ved on by the conſul. What chiej diverted them from the purſuit right and juſtice in the caſe, w the power of Scaurus, who w ſaid to have encouraged and ſu ported Beſtia in the deſign. B C. Memmius, concerning who boldneſs and ſpight to the nobilit we have ſpoke above, during t doubts and delays of the ſenat did, by ſeveral harangues, exho the people to puniſh the miſbehav our of the conſul, and admoniſh them not to deſert the cauſe the publick, and their own libert He gave many inſtances of t inſolent and cruel behaviour of t nobility; and did, with the utm application, endeavour to ſpirit the commons againſt them. An becauſe at that time he bore mighty character at Rome for el quence, I have thought it wou not be amiſs, to preſent the read with one of the many ſpeeches*

co

concione, poſt reditum Beſtiæ, hujuſcemodi verbis diſſeruit.

*made on this occaſion; that I mean, which he made in an aſſembly of the people, after the return of Beſtia, in the following words.*

XXXIII. *Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni ſtudium reipublicæ omnia ſuperet; opes factionis, veſtra patientia, jus nullum; ac maxume, quod innocentiæ plus periculi, quam honoris, eſt. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv. quam ludibrio fueritis ſuperbiæ paucorum; quam fœde, quamquam inulti, perierint veſtri defenſores; uti vobis animus ab ignavia atque ſecordia corruptus ſit; qui ne nunc quidem obnoxiis inimicis exſurgitis; atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus vos decet terrori eſſe. Sed quamquam hæc talia ſunt; tamen obviam ire factionis potentiæ animus ſubigit. Certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente meo tradita eſt, experiar; verum id fruſtra, an ob rem faciam, in veſtra manu ſitum eſt, Quirites.*

XXXIII. Many things would diſcourage me from applying to you, as I now do, gentlemen, did not a regard for the good of the publick prevail with me above all other conſiderations. The things I mean, are, the power of the faction of the nobles, your tame ſubmiſſion, and want of authority; and above all, that innocency is now attended with more danger, than honour. For it is really irkſome to me to remind you, how inſolently you have been treated by ſome great men for theſe fifteen years laſt, and how baſely the patrons of your cauſe were taken off, without the leaſt puniſhment inflicted upon thoſe that were guilty of it, as alſo what a mean daſtardly ſpirit you ſhew, who ſtir not in your own defence, even now when your enemies are at your mercy; and are afraid of thoſe, to whom you ought to be a terror. But tho' matters be thus, yet I am determined to make a ſtand againſt the power of the faction. I will try at leaſt, the liberty that has been left me by my father; but whether that my endeavour ſhall be attended with ſucceſs, or not, muſt depend entirely upon you, gentlemen.

XXXIV. *Neque ego vos hortor, quod ſæpe majores veſtri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil ſeceſſione opus eſt. Neceſſe eſt, ſuomet ipſi more præ-*

XXXIV. Yet do I not adviſe you to what your forefathers often did, that is, to do yourſelves juſtice by force of arms. No, there is no occaſion for violence, or leaving the town. They muſt needs be ruined by their own way



*cipites*

*cipites eant. Occiſo Ti. Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæſtiones graves habitæ ſunt. Poſt C. Gracchi & M. Fulvii cædem, item ordinis veſtri multi mortales in carcere necati ſunt. Utriuſque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed ſane fuerit regni paratio, plebi jura ſua reſtituere. Quicquid ſine ſanguine civium ulciſci nequitur, jure factum ſit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini ærarium expilari; reges & populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eoſdem & ſummam gloriam, & maxumas divitias eſſe. Tamen hæc talia facinora impune ſuſcepiſſe, parum habuere; itaque poſtremo leges, majeſtas veſtra, divina & humana omnia hoſtibus tradita ſunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut pœnitet; ſed incedunt per ora veſtra magnifici, ſacerdotia, & conſulatus, pars triumphos ſuos oſtentantes; perinde quaſi ea honori, non prædæ, habeant. Servi ære parati injuſta imperia dominorum non perferunt; vos, quirites, imperio nati, æquo animo ſervitutem toleratis? At qui ſunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere*

of proceeding. After Tiberius Gracchus was ſlain, whom they charged with a deſign upon the ſovereignty, there was terrible execution done upon the commons of Rome. After the murder of C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, a great many perſons of your rank were put to death in priſon. Nor was an end put to thoſe violent proceedings by law; but the humour only of thoſe that were guilty thereof. But let the attempt to reſtore the commons to their right paſs for a deſign to ſeize the government. Let whatever cannot be puniſhed without ſhedding the blood of our fellow-citizens, be warrantably ſo done. For ſome years paſt, tho' you ſaid nothing yet you were full of indignation to ſee the treaſury robbed, king and free nations pay taxes to a few of the nobility, who lived in the greateſt height of glory and plenty. Nor did it ſuffice them to go unpuniſhed for ſuch ſtrange conduct; and therefore at laſt you laws, majeſty, and all things divine and human, were betrayed into the hands of your enemies Nor are the perſons guilty of this treaſon, aſhamed of, or ſorry for it; but ſtrut in the moſt ſtately manner before your eyes, priding themſelves in their ſacred dignities conſulſhips, and triumphs, as they valued them only for the honour ariſing from them, and not for the convenience they thereby had of robbing the publick. Slaves bought with money, refuſe to ſubmit to the unreaſonable inſolence of their maſters, and do you, gen

*cupavere? Homines ſceleratiſſumi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentiſſumi, idemque ſuperbiſſumi; quibus fides, decus, pietas, poſtremo, honeſta atque inhoneſta omnia quæſtui ſunt. Pars eorum occidiſſe tribunos plebis, alii quæſtiones injuſtas, plerique cædem in vos feciſſe, pro munimento habent. Ita, quam quiſque peſſume fecit, tam maxume tutus eſt. Metum a ſcelere ſuo ad ignaviam veſtram tranſtulere; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odiſſe, eadem metuere in unum coegit. Sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio eſt.*

tlemen, who were born to dominion, endure to be enſlaved with patience? But who are theſe that have got the management of affairs into their hands? The moſt wicked, bloody, avaricious, pernicious, inſolent wretches, who carry faith, honour, piety, and, in ſhort, every thing honourable, or otherwiſe, to market. Some have ſecured themſelves by murdering your tribunes, others by unjuſt proſecutions, and others again by the murder of many among yourſelves. And thus the worſe any man behaves himſelf, the ſafer he is. And inſtead of their fearing you, leſt you ſhould puniſh them for their wickedneſs, you are ſo baſe ſpirited as to be afraid of them; who are united among themſelves by the conformity of their diſpoſitions, as all coveting, hating, and fearing the ſame things. And this union among good men is friendſhip, but among the wicked, faction.

XXXV. *Quod ſi vos tam libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accenſi ſunt; profecto neque reſpublica, ſicuti nunc, vaſtaretur; & beneficia veſtra penes optumos, non audaciſſumos, forent. Majores veſtri, parandi juris, & majeſtatis conſtituendæ gratia bis per ſeceſſionem armati Aventinum occupavere. Vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepiſtis, nonne ſumma ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quo majus dedecus eſt, parta amittere, quam*

XXXV. But if you had only as great a concern for the preſervaation of your liberty, as they have to acquire a deſpotick power over you, the publick would not be ſo wretchedly abuſed, and your favours would fall upon the beſt, and not the moſt audacious of men. Your forefathers twice left the town in arms, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Aventine mount, in order to aſſert their right, and eſtabliſh their authority. And will not you exert your utmoſt endeavours in defence of the liberty you have received from them? and the more ſo, the more ſhame it is, to loſe what has been once got, than never to have acquired it at

*omnino non paraviſſe? Dicet aliquis, quid igitur cenſes? Vindicandum in eos qui hoſti prodidere rempublicam, non manu, neque vi (quod magis vos feciſſe, quam illis accidiſſe, indignum eſt) verum quæſtionibus & indicio ipſius Jugurthæ. Qui ſi dedititius eſt, profecto juſſis veſtris obediens erit; ſin ea contemnit; ſcilicet æſtumabitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio ſit, ex qua ad Jugurtham ſcelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. Niſi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum ſatietas tenet; & illa, quam hæc tempora, magis placent; cum regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, poſtremo divina & humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc eſt, populus Romanus, invicti ab hoſtibus, imperatores omnium gentium, ſatis habebatis animam retinere. Nam ſervitutem quidem quis veſtrum audebat recuſare? Atque ego, tametſi flagitioſiſſumum exiſtumo impune injuriam accepiſſe; tamen vos hominibus ſceleratiſſumis ignoſcere, quoniam cives ſunt, æquo animo paterer, ni miſericordia in perniciem caſura eſſet.*

all. Some perhaps may aſk, what I would have done then? To which I anſwer, that I would have thoſe puniſhed who have betrayed the republick to the enemy, yet not in the way of violence or force; which how much ſoever they may have deſerved at your hands, yet would be a part unworthy of you to act. No, the way I would have you to proceed in, is that of a legal proſecution, and the evidence of Jugurtha himſelf. Who, if he has ſurrendered in good earneſt, will be obedient to your orders; but if he ſlight them, you may thereby judge what kind of peace and ſubmiſſion that is, by virtue whereof Jugurtha is to reap impunity for all his crimes, a few great men immenſe riches, and the republick nothing but loſs and diſgrace. Unleſs you are not even yet weary of their tyranny, and thoſe times pleaſe you beſt, when kingdoms, the provinces, laws, courts, war and peace, and in ſhort, all things whatever, both divine and human, were at the diſpoſal of a few great men: whilſt you the Roman people, the invincible lords of the world, were content with life alone. For which of you durſt refuſe the yoke? and yet, tho' I think it highly diſhonourable for a man to bear ill uſage with a tame ſubmiſſion, I could be content you ſhould pardon thoſe wicked wetches, becauſe they are your fellow-citizens, if your compaſſion to them would not end in your own deſtruction.

XXXVI. *Nam & il-'s, quantum importuni-atis habent, parum eſt npune male feciſſe, niſi einde faciundi licentia ripitur; & vobis æterna licitudo remanebit, cum itelligetis, aut ſerviun-um eſſe aut per manus bertatem retinendam. Tam fidei quidem aut ncordiæ quæ ſpes eſt? Dominari illi volunt, vos beri eſſe; facere illi in-rias, vos prohibere. oſtremo ſociis veſtris, luti hoſtibus, hoſtibus o ſociis utuntur. Po-ſtne in tam divorſis entibus pax aut amicitia e? Quare moneo hor-rque vos, ne tantum elus impunitum dimitta-s. Non peculatus ærarii Ꞇus eſt; neque per m ſociis ereptæ pecu-æ; quæ, quamquam avia ſunt, tamen con-etudine jam pro nihilo ibentur. Hoſti acerrumo odita ſenati auctoritas, oditum imperium ve-rum; domi militiæque ſpublica venalis fuit uæ niſi quæſita erunt, ſi vindicatum in noxios, uid erit reliquum, niſi illis, quia ea fecere, obe-entes vivamus? Nam npune quælibet facere, l eſt regem eſſe. Neque o vos, quirites, hortor, ti jam malitis civis ve-ros perperam, quam rec-*

XXXVI. But ſo violent is their inclination to miſchief that the letting them go unpuniſhed for paſt crimes will avail you nothing, unleſs the power of committing the like be taken from them for the future; and you muſt live in perpetual anxiety, when you find yourſelves under a neceſſity of being ſlaves, or maintaining your liberty by force of arms. For what hope is there of preſerving faith or concord among us? They are deſirous to lord it over you at pleaſure, you to be free; they to do miſchief, you to hinder it. Finally, they uſe your allies as enemies, your enemies as allies. Can there be any peace or friendſhip in minds ſo differently diſpoſed? Wherefore I adviſe and beſeech you, not to let ſuch villainy go unpuniſhed. The caſe now before you is not that of robbing the treaſury, or oppreſſing your allies, which tho' very grievous things, yet are grown ſo faſhionable that they paſs for trifles only. The authority of the ſenate, and your mighty power have been betrayed to your moſt virulent enemy; and the commonwealth ſet to ſale both at home and abroad. And unleſs ſtrict enquiry be made into this miſconduct, and the guilty be puniſhed, what will be left for us, but to live in a ſlaviſh ſubjection to the villains? for to do with impunity whatſoever a man pleaſes is to be a king. I would not hereby be thought to encourage you to wiſh your fellow-citizens may be rather found guilty than innocent; but only not to pardon

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*te, feciſſe; ſed ne ignoſcendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multo præſtat, beneficii, quam maleficii, immemorem eſſe. Bonus tantummodo ſegnior fit, ubi neglegas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc, ſi injuriæ non ſint, haud ſæpe auxilii egeas.*

XXXVII. Hæc atque alia hujuſcemodi ſæpe dicundo, C. Memmius populo Romano perſuadet uti L. Caſſius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur; eumque, interpoſita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius indicio regis, Scauri, & reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arceſſebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti ab Beſtia exercitui præerant, ſecuti morem imperatoris ſui, plurima & flagitioſiſſuma facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthæ traderent; alii perfugas venderent; pars ex pacatis prædas agebant. Tanta avaricia in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaſerat. At Caſſius prætor perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculſa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiſcitur;

ſuch as ſhall really appear guilty, to the ruin of the innocent. Beſides, in the adminiſtration of the government, it is better to forget a kindneſs done the publick, than an offence committed againſt it. The good man only becomes leſs inclined to ſerve his country, if you overlook him; but the wicked becomes ſtill worſe. Beſides, if no wickedneſs be acted againſt the ſtate, you ſeldom want aſſiſtance.

XXXVII. *By frequently haranguing the people in this ſtrain Memmius perſuades them to ſend L. Caſſius, at that time Prætor to Jugurtha, to bring him to Rome upon the publick faith, in order to uſe him as an evidence againſt Scaurus, and the reſt, who were charged with taking his money. Whilſt theſe things were doing at Rome, they who were left by Beſtia with the command of the army in Numidia, following the example of their general, were guilty of a great deal of very ſcandalous behaviour. Some were bribed to return Jugurtha his elephants, others to ſell him deſerters, others again plundered the country that was at peace with us. To ſuch a degree had Covetouſneſs, like the plague, infected their minds. But Caſſius the Prætor, upon paſſing of the bill preferred by Memmius to the great conſternation of all the nobility, goes over to Jugurtha and perſuades him, being ſore frighted, and from a ſenſe of his guilt looking upon his caſe as deſperate,* Since he had ſubmitted to the Roman people, not to make trial of their power, rather than

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eique timido, & ex conſcientia diffidenti rebus ſuis, perſuadet, *quoniam ſe populo Romano dedidiſſet, ne vim, quam miſericordiam ejus, experiri malit.* Privatim præteria fidem ſuam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam, ducebat. Talis ea tempeſtate fama de Caſſio erat.

XXXVIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quam muxume miſerabili cum Caſſio Romam venit. At, tametſi in ipſo magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut ſcelere cuncta ea geſſerat, quæ ſupra memoravimus, C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus & injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione, ( quamquam regi infeſta plebes erat, & pars *in vincula duci* jubebat, pars, *ni ſocios ſceleris, aperiret, more majorum de hoſte ſupplicium ſumi* ) dignitati magis, quam iræ, conſulens, ſedare motus, & animos eorum molire; poſtremo confirmare, fidem publicam per ſeſe inviolatam fore. Poſt, ubi ſilentium cœpit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit; *Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus* memorat, *ſcelera in patrem fratreſque* oſtendit; *quibus ju-*

their clemency. *Beſides, he privately engaged his own faith in his behalf, which the other valued as much as the publick faith itſelf. So excellent a character had Caſſius at that time.*

XXXVIII. *Wherefore Jugurtha comes along with Caſſius to Rome, with a very ſorry equipage, much below the dignity of a prince. And tho' he had a good heart upon the matter, being encouraged by all, by whoſe power and roguery he had been ſupported in his wicked management above related; yet he prevails with C. Bæbius, tribune of the commons, by an immenſe bribe, to employ all his impudence, in order to protect him againſt right, and the puniſhment due to his crimes. But C. Memmius ſummoning the people together, although they were much enraged againſt the king, and ſome were for* clapping him in jail, *and others* for puniſhing him capitally, according to the antient Roman uſage, unleſs he diſcovered thoſe concerned with him in his wickedneſs; *yet Memmius, I ſay, having a regard to what honour required, rather than what paſſion directed, endeavoured to allay their heat, and mollify them; declaring finally,* that he however would have no hand in the violation of of the publick faith. *And at laſt, when ſilence was obtained, Jugurtha being brought before the aſſembly, he ſpoke, and recounted* all his pranks at Rome, and in Nu-

*vantibus*

*vantibus, quibuſque miniſtris ea egerit, quamquam intelligat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifeſta magis ex illo habere; ſi verum aperiat, in fide & clementia populi Romani magnam ſpem illi ſitam; ſin reticeat, non ſociis ſaluti fore, ſed ſe ſuaſque ſpes corrupturum.* Dein ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, & Jugurtha reſpondere juſſus eſt, C. Bæbius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum ſupra diximus, regem tacere jubet. Ac, tametſi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accenſa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, ſæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus, ludibrio habitus, ex concione diſcedit. Jugurthæ, Beſtiæque, & ceteris, quos illa quæſtio exagitabat, animi augeſcunt.

XXXIX. Erat ea tempeſtate Romæ Numina quidam, nomine Maſſiva, Guluſſæ filius, Maſiniſſæ nepos; qui quia in diſſenſione regum, Jugurthæ advorſus fuerat, dedita Cirta, & Atherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo

midia; *ſet forth* his wicked behaviour towards his father, and hi brothers; *and gave him to underſtand*, that tho' the Roman people knew by whoſe aſſiſtance and ſupport he had done all thoſe things, yet they had a mind to have a more full diſcovery of the ſame from himſelf, which if he would truly and faithfully make, he migh depend upon the honour and clemency of the Roman people; bu if not, he would do his Friends n ſervice, and would moreover blaſ all his own hopes entirely. *When Memmius had done ſpeaking, an Jugurtha was ordered to reply, C Bæbius, tribune of the commons who had been ſecured by a goo bribe, as I took notice above, commands the king to hold his tongue And tho' the people there aſſemble were mightily incenſed, and did b ſhouts, angry looks, and violenc too very often, and all other mean that paſſion dictates, endeavour t deter him from his purpoſe, yet hi impudence prevailed. The peopl being thus fooled, broke up and departed. Jugurtha, Beſtia, an the reſt of them, againſt whom thi enquiry was pointed, took hear upon it.*

XXXIX. *There was at tha time a certain Numidian at Rome by name Maſſiva, the ſon of Guluſſa, and grandſon of Maſſiniſſa who, becauſe in the quarrel betwixt the two kings, he had bee againſt Jugurtha, when Cirta wa ſurrendered, and Atherbal put t death, had fled out of Africa. Sp Albinus, who the next year afte Beſtia was conſul with Q. Mi-*

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anno poſt Beſtiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo conſulatum gerebat, perſuadet, quoniam ex ſtirpe Maſiniſſæ ſit, Jugurtham ob ſcelera invidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiæ ab ſenatu petat. Avidus conſul belli gerundi, moveri, quam ſeneſcere, omnia malebat. Ipſi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quæ poſtquam Maſſiva agitare cœpit; neque Jugurthæ in amicis ſatis præſidii eſt; quod eorum alium conſcientia, alium mala fama & timor animi impediebat; Bomilcari proxumo ac maxume fido ſibi imperat, *precio, ſicuti multa confecerat, inſidiatores Maſſiva paret; ac maxume occulte; ſin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat.* Bomilcar mature regis mandata exſequitur; &, per homines talis negotii artifices, itinera egreſſuſque ejus, poſtremo loca, atque tempora cuncta explorat; dein, ubi res poſtulabat inſidias tendit. Igitur unus, ex eo numero, qui ad cædem parati erant, paullo inconſultius Maſſivam aggreditur, illum obtruncat; ſed ipſe deprehenſus, multis hortantibus, & in primis Albino conſule, indicium profitetur. Fit reus

*nucius Rufus, perſuades him, ſince he was deſcended from Maſiniſſa, to aggravate the odiouſneſs of Jugurtha's crimes, and alarm him with fears, by making his ſuit to the ſenate for the kingdom of Numidia. The conſul being vaſtly deſirous of having the war continued under his command, was for kindling a new flame rather than have the old one die away. He had got by lot the province of Numidia, Minucius Macedonia. When Maſſiva begun to ſtir in the buſineſs, Jugurtha being not able to depend upon the protection of his friends, becauſe ſome where diſcouraged from meddling further in his behalf, by a ſenſe of their guilt; others by ſuſpicions conceived of them, and their fears together, orders Bomilcar, a very near relation, and heartily in his intereſt,* to go to work in a way, wherein he had carried many of his points, and hire ſome perſons to take off Maſſiva, and privatelay, if poſſible; but if that ſhould not be found feaſible, by any way or means whatever. *Bomilcar quickly puts the king's orders in execution; and by men well verſed in ſuch ſort of work watches all his motions and haunts; and when the matter ſeemed ripe for it, lays his plot. One of the rogues engaged in the deſign, falls upon Maſſiva, and kills him, but in ſo unguarded a manner that he was immediately apprehended; and being urged by many, and eſpecially Albinus the conſul, to confeſs who ſet him on work, he did ſo. Bomilcar was proſecuted upon it, more*

reus magis ex æquo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha, manifeſtus tanti ſceleris, non prius omiſit contra verum niti, quam animadvertit, ſuper gratiam atque pecuniam ſuam invidiam facti eſſe. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus conſulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit; veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi ſibi, ſi de illo ſupplicium ſumptum foret. Et ipſe paucis diebus eodem profectus eſt, juſſus a ſenatu Italia decedere. Sed poſtquam Roma egreſſus eſt, fertur, ſæpe tacitus eo-reſpiciens poſtremo dixiſſe, *Urbem venalem, & mature perituram, ſi emptorem invenerit.*

XL. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, ſtipendium, aliaque, quæ militibus uſui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac ſtatim ipſe profectus, ut ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, & alias, de-

*agreeably to the law of natural juſtice, than that of nations, as being one of the retinue of Jugurtha, who had come to Rome upon the publick faith. But Jugurtha, tho' manifeſtly guilty of ſo villainous a fact, did not give over facing down the truth, 'till he perceived the odium of the thing was quite too hard for all his intereſt and money together. And therefore, though in the firſt action he had given fifty of his friends as bail for Bomilcar's appearance, yet being more concerned for the preſervation of his kingdom than his bail, he ſends him off privately into Numidia, fearing leſt the reſt of his ſubjects ſhould be afraid of obeying him, if he ſhould be puniſhed. And in a few days after he went away himſelf, being ordered by the ſenate to depart out of Italy. It is reported of him, that after he was got out of Rome, he frequently looked back without ſaying any thing; but at laſt broke out into theſe words,* that the city was to be ſold, and would ſoon be ruined, if it did but meet with a chapman.

XL. *The war being now revived, Albinus makes haſte to tranſport into Africa proviſions, money, and other neceſſaries for the army, and went forthwith himſelf, that he might by force of arms, the ſurrender of Jugurtha, or by any other means, diſpatch the war before the election, which was not very far off. But, on the other hand, Jugurtha endeavoured to ſpin out the time, and contrived divers means for that purpoſe. He*

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le alias moræ cauſſas :ere; polliceri deditiom, ac deinde metum ıulare; inſtanti cedere, paullo poſt, ne ſui federent, inſtare; ita lli modo, modo pacis ıra conſulem ludificare. : fuere, qui tum Albim haud ignarum coni regis exiſtumarent; que ex tanta properantam facile tractum beln ſocordia magis, quam lo, crederent.

XLI. Sed poſtquam, apſo tempore, comirum dies adventabat; binus, Aulo fratre in ſtris proprætore relicto, ımum deceſſit. Ea npeſtate Romæ ſeditiibus tribuniciis atrociter publica agitabatur. P. ıcullus & L. Annius buni plebis, reſiſtentis collegis, continuare agiſtratum nitebantur; æ diſſentio totius anni mitia impediebat. Ea ora in ſpem adductus ulus, quem proprætom in caſtris relictum fua diximus, aut conficiıdi belli, aut terrore ercitus ab rege pecuniæ ıpiundæ, milites menſe ınuario ex hibernis in ıpeditionem evocat; ıagniſque itineribus hieıe aſpera pervenit ad ppidum Suthul, ubi reis theſauri erant. Quod

*promiſed to ſurrender, and then quickly excuſed himſelf, under pretence of apprehending ill uſage. When the enemy puſhed him, he fled; and preſently, for fear of diſcouraging his men, came briſkly on again. and thus did he befool the conſul, one while by pretenſions of war, and another while thoſe of peace. There were ſome at that time, who did believe that Albinus was no ſtranger to the king's purpoſe, and that after ſo much haſte, the war was not protracted from careleſſneſs, but deſign.*

XLI. *But the time being now elapſed, and the day of election at hand, Albinus leaves his brother Aulus to ſupply his place in the camp, and goes to Rome. At that time the commonwealth was put into great convulſions by ſome broils among the tribunes. P. Lucullus, and L. Annius, tribunes of the commons, pretended to ſtand candidates for the office the next year too, wherein they were oppoſed by all their colleagues; which diſpute kept off all the other elections likewiſe. Upon occaſion of this delay, Aulus, who, as we have juſt ſaid, had been left proprætor in the camp, being put in hopes of either finiſhing the war, or extorting money out of the king, by the terror of his army, draws his ſoldiers, in the month of January, out of their winter quarters upon an expedition, and came by great marches, in a ſevere ſeaſon, to the town of Suthul, where all the king's treaſure lay. Which, tho' it could not be either taken, or be-*

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quamquam, & ſævitia temporis, & opportunitate loci, neque capi neque obſideri poterat, (nam circum murum ſitum in prærupti montis extremo planicies limoſa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tamen, aut ſimulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus, ob theſauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quæ incœpto uſui forent, properare.

*ſieged, by reaſon of the ſharpneſ of the weather, and the natura ſtrength of the place; for ther was a perfect marſh made by th winter's rains quite round th wall, built upon the extremity o a craggy mountain; yet either b way of feint, to fright the king or blinded with a greedy deſire c taking the town, for the booty th was in it, he began to form vinea to caſt up a mount, and make oth neceſſary preparations for an a ſault upon the place.*

XLII. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, ſubdolus ejus augere amentiam; miſſitare ſupplicantis legatos; ipſe, quaſi vitabundus, per ſaltuoſa loca & tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum ſpe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones ſeſe, veluti cedentem inſequeretur; ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines callidos diu noctuque exercitum tentabat. Centuriones duciſque turmarum partim, uti transfugerent, corrumpere; alii, ſigno dato, locum uti deſererent. Quæ poſtquam ex ſententia inſtruxit; intempeſta nocte de improviſo multitudine Numidarum Auli caſtra circumvenit. Milites Ro-

XLII. *But when Jugurt found out the weakneſs and u ſkilfulneſs of the lieutenant, craftily contrived how to impro his madneſs. He would frequen ſend deputies with very ſubmiſſi meſſages, and he himſelf, as if purpoſe to keep out of his wa would often lead his army throu woody parts of the country, a by-roads. Finally, he tempted A lus, by the hopes of a good barga to quit Suthul, and follow him to a lonely part of the country, if he was flying before him, l in reality the better to conceal th vile pranks. In the mean time, was day and night tampering wi the army, by ſome cunning agen Some centurions, and officers horſe, he bribed to deſert to hi and others to quit their poſts, wh the ſignal was given. After had thus made ſuch preparations he thought proper, very unexpe edly, in the dead of the night, encloſes Aulus's camp quite roun*

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nani perculſi tumultu nſolito, arma capere alii; lii ſe abdere; pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis; vis magna oſtium; cœlum nocte tque nubibus obſcuratum; periculum anceps; poſtremo, fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante orruptos diximus, cohors na Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, & paucis gregariis militibus, ranſire ad regem; & centurio primi pili tertiæ legionis per munitionem, uam, uti defenderet, cceperat, locum hoſtibus ntroeundi dedit; eaque Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Noſtri fœda fuga, plerique bjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda caſtrorum hoſtis, quo minus ictoria uterentur, remorata ſunt. Deinde Jugurtha poſtero die cum Aulo n colloquio verba facit; *tametſi ipſum cum exercitu fame ferroque clauſum tenet, tamen ſe, memorem rerum humanarum, ſi ſecum fœdus faceret, incolumes omnis ſub jugum miſſurum; præterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet.* Quæ gravia quamquam & flagitii plena erant; tamen quia mortis metu mutabantur,

*with a vaſt number of his Numidians. The Roman ſoldiers being alarmed with an unuſual hurry about the camp, ſome of them took arms, others hid themſelves, ſome endeavoured to encourage ſuch as were frighted; great conſternation there was in all places, the enemies very numerous, the night dark and cloudy, danger on all hands. Finally, it was impoſſible to judge, whether it would be ſafer to fly, or ſtay in the camp. But of the number of thoſe, who, I have juſt ſaid, had been bribed; one battalion of Ligurians, with two troops of Thracian horſe, and a few common ſoldiers, went over to the king. And a centurion of the firſt rank belonging to the third legion, gave the enemy entrance into the camp, by that part of the rampart where he was poſted for its defence, and there all the Numidians broke in. Our men by a ſhameful flight, and moſt of them throwing away their arms, got off to a neighbouring hill. Night, and the plunder of the camp hindered the enemy from making advantage of their victory. The next day Jugurtha, at a conference with Aulus, told him,* That tho' he had him with his army in his power, diſtreſſed both by famine and ſword, yet being ſenſible of the uncertainty of human affairs, if he would conclude a treaty with him, he would give quarter to the army, but ſhould oblige them to paſs under the yoke; and furthermore inſiſted upon his quitting Numidia in ten days. *And tho' the terms were hard and ſcandalous, yet the fear of death made*

ſicuti regi luberat, pax convenit.

XLIII. Sed, ubi ea Romæ comperta ſunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invaſere. Pars dolere pro gloria imperii; pars inſolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati; Aulo omnes infeſti, ac maxume qui bello ſæpe præclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius, quam manu, ſalutem quæſiverit. Ob ea conſul Albinus, ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, ſenatum de fœdere conſulebat; & tamen interim exercitui ſupplementum ſcribere; ab ſociis & nomine Latino auxilia accerſere; denique omnibus modis feſtinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, *ſuo atque populi injuſſu nullum patuiſſe fœdus fieri.* Conſul, impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne, quas paraverat copias, ſecum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiſcitur. Nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus in provincia hiemabat. Poſtquam eo venit, (quamquam perſequi Jugurtham, & mederi fraternæ invidiæ animo ardebat) cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, ſoluto imperio, licentia atq

*them go down, and peace was accordingly concluded upon the conditions offered by the king.*

XLIII. *As ſoon as the news of all this was carried to Rome; the city was full of fear and ſorrow both. Some were concerned for the honour of the empire; others, unacquainted with the buſineſs of war, thought their liberty in danger. All people were in a rage at Aulus, but principally thoſe, who had often diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their gallant behaviour in the wars, that he, when he had arms in his hand, ſhould ſave himſelf by an infamous ſubmiſſion, without ſtriking a ſtroke. Upon this the conſul Albinus being apprehenſive from the ill behaviour of his brother, of the publick odium, and danger thereby, conſulted the ſenate upon the late treaty of his and yet at the ſame time raiſed recruits for the army, and ſent for auxiliary forces from the allies and the people of Latium, and that with all poſſible expedition. The ſenate, as it was fit they ſhould, voted,* That no valid treat could be conclued, without their and the people's authority for i *The conſul being not ſuffered by the tribunes of the commons, to carry with him the troops he had raiſed in a few days time went over in Africa without them. For all t army, according to the late agreement, had quitted Numidia, an wintered in the province. Aft his arrival, although he was pa ſionately deſirous to go in queſt Jugurtha, and wipe off the odiu occaſioned by his brother's ill co*

tque laſcivia corruperat, ex copia rerum ſtatuit, ibi nihil agitandum.

*duct; yet finding the ill ſtate the ſoldiery were in, not only from their late defeat, but the want of diſcipline, licence, and wantonneſs, whereby his brother had debauched them, he reſolved, conſidering the bad ſituation of affairs, to be quiet.*

XLIV. Interea Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, *uti quæreretur in eos, quorum conſilio Jugurtha ſenati decreta neglexiſſet quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepiſſent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidiſſent; item, qui de pace aut bello cum hoſtibus pactiones feciſſent.* Huic rogationi partim conſcii ſibi, alii ex partim invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte reſiſtere non poterant, quin illa, & alia talia placere ſibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxume per homines nominis Latini, & ſocios Italicos, impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu eſt, quantum intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem juſſerit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicæ: Tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur, cæteris metu perculſis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Beſtiæ fuiſſe ſupra memoravimus,

XLIV. *In the mean time at Rome, C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribune of the commons, preferred a bill to the people,* for appointing a commiſſion of enquiry, for the tryal of all thoſe, by whoſe encouragement Jugurtha had ſlighted the orders of the ſenate; and ſuch deputies or commanders, as had taken money of the king; ſuch as had delivered up to him his elephants and deſerters, as alſo thoſe who had made any agreements with the enemy, relating to peace or war. *Now ſuch as were guilty, and others apprehenſive of danger from the odium of the party they had engaged in, durſt not openly oppoſe this bill; but pretended to be well pleaſed with this, and other the like proceedings; yet underhand endeavoured to hinder its paſſing, by means of their friends, and eſpecially thoſe of Latium, and the allies of Italy. But it is incredible to ſay, how zealous the people were for the bill, and with what eagerneſs they paſſed it; more out of hatred to the nobility, againſt whom it was levelled, than out of any concern for the public weal; ſo violent was the fury of the parties at that time. Wherefore, whilſt all the reſt were heartily frighted, M. Scaurus, who was a lieutenant-general of Beſtia's, as I have above ſaid, amidſt the exultations of the common people, the*

vimus, inter lætitiam plebis & ſuorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamiliana rogatione tres quæſitores rogarentur, effecerat, ut ipſe in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæſtione exercita aſpere violenterque, ex rumore & lubidine plebis; uti ſæpe nobilitatem, ſic ea tempeſtate plebem ex ſecundis rebus inſolentia ceperat.

*ſlight of thoſe of his party, and the diſtraction of the town, procured himſelf to be choſen one of the three commiſſioners appointed by Mamilius's bill. But as the commiſſion was executed with great ſeverity and violence, in conformity to vulgar report, and the humour of the people: theſe grew at that time inſolent upon their ſucceſs, as the nobility had often been before.*

XLV. Cæterum mos partium popularium, & ſenati ſanctionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romæ ortus eſt, otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus & ſenatus Romanus placide modeſteque inter ſe rempublicam tractabant; nequæ gloriæ dominationis certamen inter civis erat; metus hoſtilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi formido illa mentibus deceſſit, ſcilicet ea, quæ ſecundæ res amant, laſcivia atque ſuperbia inceſſere. Ita quod in advorſis rebus optaverant, otium, poſtquam adepti ſunt, aſperius acerbiuſque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere; ſibi quiſque du-

XLV. *Now the party of the commons, and the factions of the Senate, with all the miſchievous practices enſuing, took their riſe at Rome but a few years before, from idleneſs, and plenty of ſuch things as mankind are apt to ſet the higheſt value upon. For before the deſtruction of Carthage, the people and Senate of Rome managed their affairs jointly, in perfect harmony and moderation, without the leaſt bickering upon account of glory or power. The fear of their enemy kept the city in good order: but when that fear was now no more, then the conſtant attendants upon a ſtate of proſperity, wantonneſs, and pride, came in faſhion. Thus they had no ſooner attained what they had wiſhed for in the time of their adverſity, peace, than they found the moſt pernicious conſequence from it, and their caſe to be really worſe than it was before. For the nobility begun to turn their power and the people their liberty, into licentiouſneſs. Rapine and violence now prevailed univerſally. And*

cere

cere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abſtracta ſunt. Reſpublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Cæterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat; plebis vis ſoluta atque diſperſa, in multitudine minus poterat; paucorum arbitrio belli domique reſpublica agitabatur; penes eoſdum ærarium, provinciæ, magiſtratus, gloriæ, triumphique erant; populus militia, atque inopia urgebatur; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, uti quiſque potentiori confinis erat, ſedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia ſine modo modeſtiaque invadere, polluere & vaſtare omnia; nihil penſi neque ſancti habere, quoad ſemet ipſa præcipitavit. Nam, ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti ſunt, qui veram gloriam injuſtæ potentiæ anteponerent, moveri civitas, & diſſenſio civilis, quaſi permixtio terræ, oriri cœpit.

XLVI. Nam, poſtquam Tiberius & C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico, atque aliis bellis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, & paucorum ſcelera patefa-

*thus was the commonwealth rent into two parties, by which it was miſerably torn to pieces. The faction of the nobility proved the moſt prevalent; that of the commons being more looſe and divided, by reaſon of their numbers, was obliged to give ground; whereupon the management of all affairs, both in peace and war, fell into the hands of a few. They had the diſpoſal of the treaſury, provinces, places, glory, and triumphs. The populace were oppreſſed by ſervice in wars and want. The generals, with a few friends, made prize of all the ſpoils of victory. In the mean time the parents, or the young children of the ſoldiers, according as they happened to be neighbours to any of the grandees, were forced from the poſſeſſion of their eſtates. Thus did avarice, in conjunction with power, ſeize, ravage, and lay waſte all before it, without the leaſt regard to moderation or modeſty at all, without thought or diſtinction, 'till it plunged itſelf into inextricable difficulties. For as ſoon as ſome of the nobility ſtarted up, who preferred true glory before unjuſt power, the city began to be in an uproar, and civil diſtraction and confuſion, not unlike a disjointing of the very earth itſelf, to ariſe upon it.*

XLVI. *For after Tiberius and C. Gracchus, whoſe anceſtors had, in the Carthaginian and other wars, been highly ſerviceable to the ſtate, begun to aſſert the liberty of the commons, and to expoſe the wickedneſs of the other party; the nobility being guilty, and therefore*

cere cœpere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculſa, modo per ſocios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos ſpes ſocietatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; & primo Tiberium, dein paucos poſt annos eadem ingredientem Cajum, Tribunum plebis alterum, alterum triumphirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco, ferro necaverat. Et ſane Gracchis, cupidine victoriæ, haud ſatis animus moderatus fuit. Sed bono vinci ſatius eſt, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine ſua uſa, mortalis multos ferro aut fuga exſtinxit; pluſque in reliquum ſibi timoris, quam potentiæ, addidit; quæ res plerumque magnas civitates peſſum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, & victos acerbius ulciſci volunt. Sed, de ſtudiis partium, & omnibus civitatis moribus, ſi ſingillatim aut pro magnitudine parem diſſerere, tempus, quam res, maturius deſeret, quamobrem ad incœptum redeo.

XLVII. Poſt Auli fœdus, exercituſque noſtri fœdam fugam, Metellus

*under terrible apprehenſions, did one while by our Italian allies, and thoſe of Latinum, another while by the Roman knighs, whom the hopes of ſharing in the ſpoils with them, had ſeparated from the intereſt of the commons, endeavour to oppoſe the pretenſions of the Gracchi, and killed by the ſword Tiberius; and a few years after C. puſuing the ſame meaſures, the one a Tribune of the commons, and the other one of the three commiſſioners appointed for the planting of colonies; as alſo M. Fulvius Flaccus. And indeed the Gracchi, from too keen a deſire of carrying their point, puſhed matters too far. But a good man would rather chuſe to be baffled in any cauſe, than carry it by ill meaſures. Wherefore the nobility making a moſt inſolent uſe of their ſucceſs in that ſtruggle, put to death, or baniſhed, great number of the commons, and rendered themſelves for the future more terrible, rather than more powerful; a thing that has often proved ruinous to mighty ſtates, whilſt parties are for ſubduing one another at any rate, and uſing their victory with a vengeance upon their enemies, when they have once got them under. But ſhould I propoſe to deſcant upon the fury of parties, and all the other corruptions of the city at large, and according to the extent of the ſubject, time would ſooner fail me than matter. I ſhall therefore again take up the thread of my hiſtory.*

XLVII. *After the treaty of Aulus, and the ſcandalous return of our army into the province, the*

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& Silanus, conſules deſignati, provincias inter ſe partiverant; Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, & quamquam adverſo populi partibus, fama tamem æquabili & inviolata. Is, ubi primum magiſtratum ingreſſus eſt, alia omni ſibi cum collega communia ratus, ad bellum, quod geſturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites ſcribere, præſidia undique acceſſere; arma, tela, equos, & cætera inſtrumenta militiæ parare; ad hoc, commeatum affatim; denique omnia, quæ in bello vario, & rerum multarum egenti, uſui eſſe ſolent. Cæterum ad ea patranda ſenatus auctoritate, ſocii, nomenque Latinum, & reges ultro auxilia mittendo, poſtremo omnis civitas ſummo ſtudio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex ſententia omnibus rebus paratis compoſitiſque, in Numidiam proficiſcitur, magna ſpe civium, cum propter artis bonas, tum maxume quod advorſum divitias invictum animum gerebat; & avaritia magiſtratuum ante id tempus in Numidia noſtræ opes contuſæ, hoſtiumque auctæ erant.

XLVIII. Sed, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus

*Conſuls elect, Metellus and Silanus, divided the provinces betwixt them by lot, and Numidia fell to Metellus, a briſk man, and though an enemy to the popular party, yet of a general good character; and without blemiſh. As ſoon as he entered upon his office, thinking all other things concerned his colleague as much as him, he applied himſelf to make preparations for the war he was to command in, as what was his proper and peculiar buſineſs. Wherefore, as he put no great confidence in the old army, he made new levies, and ſent for troops from all parts, and provided arms of all ſorts, horſes, and other inſtruments of war, beſides plenty of proviſions; and finally, all things neceſſary for a war that would require no ſmall variety. And to help forward the buſineſs, the Senate contributed their authority; our allies, and the Latins, and foreign princes too, ſent in troops of their own accord; and finally, the whole city exerted itſelf ſtrenuouſly upon the occaſion. Wherefore, when now all things were prepared and regulated to his mind, he paſſes over into Numidia, whilſt the Romans were now all in full expectations of ſucceſs, as well becauſe of the other excellent qualities of the general, as eſpecially, becauſe he had a ſoul invincibly fortified againſt the temptation of money; whereas our affairs in Africa had been ruined, and the ſtrength of the enemy increaſed by the avarice of our own commanders.*

XLVIII. *But after his arrival in Africa, the army of the Procon-*

ei traditur Sp. Albini proconſulis, iners, imbellis neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promptior, prædator ex ſociis, & ipſe præda hoſtium, ſine imperio & modeſtia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus ſolicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut bonæ ſpei, accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, (quamquam & æſtivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, & exſpectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat) non prius bellum attingere, quam majorum diſciplina milites laborare coegiſſet. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercituſque clade perculſus, poſtquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis æſtivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites in ſtativis caſtris habebat; niſi cum odos, aut pabuli egeſtas, locum mutare ſubegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur. Uti cuique lubebat, ab ſignis aberat. Lixæ permiſti cum militibus diu noctuque vagabantur; & palantes agros vaſtare, villas expugnare, pecoris & mancipiorum prædas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio,

*ſul Sp. Albinus was delivered up to him, not at all diſpoſed for action, but heartleſs, and neither capable of enduring danger or fatigue, much more ready with their tongues than their hands, accuſtomed to plunder the allies, whilſt they themſelves were a prey to the enemy, as being under no proper command, in no order at all. Thus the new general had more trouble with the vicious manners of the ſoldiers, than he had either help or hope from their numbers. However, Metellus was reſolved, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the election had left but a ſhort time for that year's campaign, and he did ſuppoſe that the minds of the people at Rome would wait the iſſue of the war with impatience, not to enter upon action, 'till he had, by due diſcipline, brought the ſoldiers to bear fatigue. For Albinus being quite diſmayed with the late defeat of the army under the command of his brother, and reſolving thereupon not to ſtir out of the province, kept the ſoldiers, during the time of his command that ſummer, in ſtanding camps, which he changed not, 'till the ſtench of them, or the want of forage, obliged him to be gone. But neither was the watch kept, as is uſual in war; and every man ſtrolled from the camp at pleaſure; and the ſervants, together with the ſoldiers, ran about night and day, waſting the country, and forcing gentlemen's houſes, carried off vaſt numbers of cattle and ſlaves continually, and exchanged them with merchants for wine they brought them, and*

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z aliis talibus. Præterea, rumentum publice da- um vendere, panem in ies mercari. Poſtremo, uæ cunque dici aut fingi ueunt ignaviæ luxuriæ- ue proba, in illo exer- itu cuncta fuere, & alia mplius.

XLIX. Sed in ea dif- icultate Metellum non ninus, quam in rebus oſtilibus, magnum & apientem virum fuiſſe omperior; tanta tem- erantia inter ambitio- em ſævitiamque mode- atum. Namque edicto rimo adjumenta ignaviæ ſtuliſſe, *ne quiſquam in ſtris panem, aut quèm lium cibum coctum ven- eret; ne lixæ exercitum querentur,; ne miles regarius in caſtris, neve agmine ſervum, aut mentum haberet.* Cæ- eris arte modum ſtatuiſ- . Præterea, tranſvorſis ineribus quotidie caſtra novere; juxta ac ſi ho- es adeſſent, vallo at- ue foſſa munire; vigi- as crebras ponere, & eas ſe cum legatis circuire; em in agmine in primis nodo, modo in poſtre- nis, ſæpe in medio adeſſe, e quiſquam ordine egre- eretur; uti cum ſignis equentes incederent, mi- es cibum & arma porta- et. Ita prohibendo a elictis magis, quam vin-

*other ſuch things. Beſides, they would ſell the corn allowed them by the government, and buy bread every day. In ſhort, all the moſt ſcandalous effects of idleneſs and luxury, that can be mentioned or imagined, were every one of them in that army, and more too.*

XLIX. *But I find Metellus ſhewed himſelf as great and able a man under this difficulty, as in his conduct againſt the enemy; he obſerved ſo due a mean betwixt ſneaking to gain the favour of his troops, and cruelty. For in the firſt place, he ordered out of the camp by proclamation, all the ſupports of idleneſs*; as that no body ſhould ſell bread, or any other dreſs'd victuals, in the camp; that no fetchers of wood ſhould follow the camp, nor any common ſoldier have in the camp, or upon the march, a ſervant, or any beaſt of burden. *And in reſpect of other things, was very ſparing of his allowance of them. Beſides, he would daily march his army, not directly forward, but to the right and left alternately, and ſecure his camp by a rampart and ditch, juſt as if an enemy was at hand, kept due watch in the ſame, and went the rounds himſelf, attended by his lieutenant generals; and upon a march, he would ſometimes be in the van, ſometimes in the rear, and oftentimes in the main body, to ſee that no man quitted his rank, but all duly attended their own ſtandards, and carried their own proviſion, and arms. Thus, in a ſhort time, he infuſed vigour and ſpirit into his*

dicando,

dicando, exercitum brevi confirmavit.

L. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quæ Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit, ſimul de innocentia ejus certior Romæ factus, diffidere ſuis ıcbus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus eſt. Igitur legatos ad conſulem cum ſuppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipſi liberiſque vitam paterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat, genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum eſſe. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diverſos aggreditur; ac paullatim tentando, poſtquam opportunos ſibi cognovit, multa pollicendo perſuadet *uti Jugurtham maxume vivum, ſin id parum procedat, necatum ſibi traderent*; cæterum palam, quæ ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Dein ipſe paucis diebus intento atque infeſto exercitu in Numidiam procedit; ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora, cultoreſque in agris erant; ex oppidis & mapalibus præfecti regis obviam procedebant, parati frumentum dare,

*army, rather by keeping them from the breach of orders, than puniſhing them.*

L. *In the mean time, Jugurtha being adviſed of what Metellus was doing, and having been informed at Rome of his integrity, begun now to deſpair of ſucceſs in the war, and to think of making a ſurrender of himſelf in good earneſt. Wherefore he diſpatches meſſengers to the Conſul, to capitulat only for the lives of himſelf an children, ſubmitting every thin beſides to the pleaſure of the Roman people. But Metellus had before found ſufficiently by experienc the nation of the Numidians to b faithleſs, fickle, and fond o change. Wherefore he tamper with the meſſengers apart, an when, by ſifting of them, he foun them for his purpoſe, he, by larg promiſes, perſuades them,* to deliver up to him Jugurtha alive, i poſſible, but if not, dead. *Bu openly orders them to carry an anſwer to the King, agreeable to hi deſire: and a few days afte marches into Numidia with his army ready for action, where the was not the leaſt appearance o war, the country houſes being fu of men, and the lands of cattl and people at work upon thei ground; the King's governors t came from the towns and cottages to meet Metullus, rea to furniſh him with corn, and oth proviſions; and, in ſhort, to execute all his commands whatever. But Metellus notwithſtanding marched with his army in a poſtu of defence, as if the enemy we*

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commeatum portare; poſtremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, ſed, pariter ac ſi hoſtes adeſſent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis ſigna oſtentui credere, & inſidiis locum tentare. Itaque ipſe cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum & ſagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat. In poſtremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat. In utrumque latus equites auxiliarios tribunis legionum & præfectis cohortium diſpertiverat; uti cum his permixti velites, quocumque accederent, equitatus hoſtium propulſarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum & militiæ erat, ut, abſens an præſens, pacem an bellum gerens, pernicioſior eſſet, in incerto haberetur

*at hand; ſent his ſcouts into all quarters round, as looking upon thoſe tokens of ſubmiſſion deſigned for ſhew only, and in order to trepan him. Wherefore he marched in the van, attended by ſome battalions clear of baggage, and a body of ſlingers and archers. In the rear commanded his lieutenant-general C. Marius with the horſe; and the auxiliary horſe he diſpoſed of in the flanks, under the command of the Tribunes of the legions, and the commanders of the battalions, with which were mixed ſome light-armed foot; and all this he did in order to repulſe the enemy's horſe, in what quarter ſoever they ſhould make their attack. For Jugurtha was a man of ſo much ſubtilty, and ſo well acquainted with the Country, and the buſineſs of war, that it was hard to ſay, whether he was more miſchievous, when abſent or preſent, in peace or war.*

LI. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxume celebratum; ubi & incolere & mercari conſueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc conſul, ſimul tentandi gratia, &, ſi paterentur opportunitates loci, præſidium impoſuit; præterea imperavit frumentum, & alia, quæ bello uſui ſo-

LI. *There was not far from the rout Metellus was in, a town of the Numidians, called Vacca, a place of the greateſt trade of any in the kingdom, where a great many Italian merchants were ſettled, upon account of traffick. Metellus, as well to try the ſubmiſſion of the people, as upon account of the advantages of the place, put a garriſon into it; and further made a demand of corn, and other neceſſaries for his army, ſuppoſing, as it was natural to do, that the great number of merchants there would be very convenent,*

rent, comportare; ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum & commeatum juvaturum exercitum, & jam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impenſius modo legatos ſupplices mittere, pacem orare, præter ſuam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, conſul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat; regi pacem, quam poſtulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, & inter eas moras promiſſa legatorum expectare.

*nient for the ſupplying his troops with proviſions, and a means to ſecure his conqueſts. In the mean time, Jugurtha was continually ſending meſſengers, and begging peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, leaving all things to the diſpoſal of Metellus, but his own and his children's lives; whom the Conſul wheedled into a deſign of betraying their maſter, as he had done by thoſe that were ſent before, neither abſolutely refuſing, nor promiſing the King the peace he deſired, but in the mean while waiting the execution of the promiſes made him by the meſſengers.*

LII. Jugurtha, ubi Metelli dicta cum factis compoſuit, ac ſuis, ſe artibus tentari animadvertit, (quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, cæterum re bellum aſperrimum erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hoſtibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati) coactus rerum neceſſitudine, ſtatuit armis certare. Igitur, explorato hoſtium itinere, in ſpem victoriæ adductus, ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas poteſt copias omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiæ, quam Atherbal in diviſione poſſederat, flumen

LII. *Jugurtha comparing Metellus's words with his deeds, and finding himſelf attacked by the arts he himſelf had before practiſed, as having, notwithſtanding the hopes given him of a peace, a very ſmart war upon his hands, the principal city in his kingdom being taken from him, the country well known to the enemy, and his ſubjects tampered with to ſeduce them from their allegiance, being forced by the neceſſity of his affairs, he reſolved to give battle to Metellus. Wherefore having got ſufficient intelligence of the march of the enemy, and being in hopes of a victory from the advantage their ſituation preſented, he raiſes as great a force as poſſible, of both horſe and foot; and by ſome private croſs routs gets before Metellus's army. There was in that part of Numidia, which Atherbal had, upon*

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·iens a meridie, nomine Iuthul; quo aberat ıons ferme millia paſſuum viginti, tractu pari, ıſtus ab natura & huıano cultu; ſed ex eo ıedio quaſi collis oriebaır, in immenſum pertiens, veſtitus oleaſtro ac ıyrtetis, aliiſque geneibus arborum, quæ huıi arido atque arenoſo ignuntur. Media autem lanicies deſerta, penuria quæ, præter fluminis ropinqua loca: Ea conıta arbuſtis, pecore atque ultoribus frequentabanur.

*the diviſion thereof, a river running from the ſouth, by name Muthul, at above twenty miles diſtance from which there was a mountain parallel to the river, waſte and uncultivated, from the middle of which roſe a hill of a vaſt height, covered with wild olives, myrtles, and other trees, which are apt to grow in a dry ſandy ſoil. The plain betwixt the river and mountain was all deſart for want of water, except the parts bordering upon the river. Thoſe were full of bruſhwood, cattle, and inhabitants.*

LIII. Igitur in eo cole, (quem tranſvorſo itinee porrectum docuimus) ſugurtha extenuata ſuoum acie conſedit; eleɔhantis & parti copiarum ɔedeſtrium Bomilcarem ɔræfecit; eumque edocet ıuæ ageret. Ipſe propior montem cum omni equiatu & peditibus delectis ſuos collocat; dein ſingulas turmas & manipulos circumiens monet atque ɔbteſtatur, *uti, memores priſtinæ virtutis & victoriæ, ſeſe regnumque ſuum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant. Cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos ſub jugum miſerint*; *ducem illis, non animum, mutatum. Quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia ſuis proviſa*; *locum ſuperiorem*

LIII. *In this hill, (which, we have already taken notice, lay acroſs the rout Metellus was taking) Jugurtha ſat down with his army, ſtretched out to a great length. He gave the command of the elephants, with a part of the infantry, to Bomilcar, and inſtructs him what to do. He poſts himſelf nigher the mountain, with all the horſe, and the choiceſt of the foot; and then riding round the ſeveral troops and companies, he begs and beſeeches them,* to be mindful of their former bravery and ſucceſs, and to defend themſelves and his dominions from the avarice of the Romans. They were now to engage with thoſe, whom they had before conquered, and obliged to paſs under the yoke; that they had only changed their general, not their temper. That he had made all the preparations for the battle that could be expected

*uti*

*uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum conſererent. Proinde parati intentique eſſent, ſigno dato Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnis labores & victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum ærumnarum initium fore.* Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii ſui, & eum ipſum aliis oſtentare. Poſtremo, pro cujuſque ingenio pollicendo, minitando, obteſtando, alium alio modo excitare; cum interim Metellus, ignarus hoſtium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conſpicabatur. Primo dubius, quidnam inſolita facies oſtenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque conſederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, & tamen incerti quidnam eſſet, cum natura loci tum dolo ipſi atque ſigna militaria obſcurati) dein, brevi cognitis inſidiis, paulliſper agmen conſtituit. Ibi commutatis ordinibus, in dextro latere, quod proxumum hoſtis erat, triplicibus ſubſidiis aciem inſtruxit; inter manipulos funditores & ſagittarios diſpertit, equitatem omnem in cornibus

from a commander; ſo that they had the advantage of the ground, ſurprize, numbers, and ſkill in war, on their ſide; and therefore ought to be upon their guard, and ready, when the ſignal ſhould be given, to fall upon the Romans. That that day would either ſecure to them the fruit of their former labours and victories, or prove the beginning of the moſt extreme miſery. *Beſides, he addreſſed himſelf ſingly to ſuch as he had for their gallant behaviour raiſed to riches or honour, put them in mind of his kindneſs, and ſhewed them to the reſt. In ſhort, he endeavoured to rouſe the courage of one in one way, and another another, by promiſing, threatening, or entreating them, according to their ſeveral tempers. Whilſt in the mean time Metellus, being not aware of the enemy, was ſpied coming down the mountain with his army. And being at firſt in ſome doubt, what that unuſual appearance ſhould mean (for the Numidians with their horſes were among the bruſh-wood, but not ſufficiently covered, by reaſon of the lowneſs of the trees, nor yet appearing ſo as to diſcover what they were, as being themſelves and their ſtandards concealed by the nature of the place, and other ways deſignedly) but in a ſhort time perceiving the ſtratagem of the enemy, he ordered his army to halt a little; and then altering the diſpoſition thereof, he reinforced it in the right wing, which was next the enemy, with three ſeveral bodies of reſerves, for their ſupport, if occa-*

ibus locat; ac pauca pro empore milites hortatus, ciem, ſicut inſtruxerat, ranſvorſis principiis in lanum deducit.

*ſion required; diſtributes the ſlingers and archers amongſt the ſeveral companies, and places all the horſe in the wings, and making a ſhort ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion, for the encouragement of his men, he drew down his army into the plain.*

LIV. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvertit, veritus ex anni tempore & inopia aquæ, ne ſiti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus, & parte equitum, præmiſit ad flumen, uti locum caſtris antecaperet; exiſtumans hoſtis crebro impetu, & tranſvorſis prœliis, iter ſuum remoraturos; &, quoniam armis diffiderent, laſſitudinem & ſitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipſe pro re atque loco, ſicuti monte deſcenderat, paullatim procedere; Marium poſt principia habere; ipſe cum ſiniſtræ alæ equitibus eſſe, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos ſuos prætergreſſum videt, præſidio quaſi duum millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus deſcenderat; ne forte cedentibus adverſariis receptui, ac poſt munimento foret; dein, repente ſigno dato, hoſtis invadit. Numidæ alii

LIV. *But finding the Numidians keep their ground, without offering to quit the hill, and fearing from the ſeaſon of the year, and the want of water in thoſe parts, leſt his army ſhould be diſtreſſed by thirſt, he ſent his lieutenant-general Rutilius with a light detachment of infantry, and a part of the cavalry, down to the river, to ſecure a proper place for his camp, as ſuppoſing the enemy would, by frequent attacks upon their flank, endeavour to retard their march; and as they had little hopes of ſucceeding by force of arms, would endeavour to diſtreſs our ſoldiers by continual fatigue and thirſt. Upon this, he advanced leiſurely, in the ſame order as he came down the mountain, ſo far as the nature of the place would admit. He kept Marius behind the principes; he marched with the horſe on the left wing, who were now become the foremoſt in the march. But when Jugurtha ſaw that the rear of Metellus was now got by his van, he ſeizes upon the mountain Metellus had quitted, with a body of two thouſand men, that the enemy, if routed, might not betake themſelves thither for ſecurity; and then ſuddenly giving the ſignal, he falls upon the enemy. The Numidians ſome of*

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poſtremos cædere; pars a ſiniſtra ac dextra tentare; infenſi adeſſe atque inſtare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hoſtibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio, ipſi modo eminus ſauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut conferendi manum copia erat. Ante jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorm turma inſequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum ſeſe recipiebant, ſed alius alio quam maxume divorſi. Ita numero priores, ſi a perſequendo hoſtis deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant. Sin opportunior fugæ collis, quam campi fuerant, ea vero conſueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; noſtros aſperitas & inſolentia loci retinebat.

LV. Cæterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda atque miſerabilis. Diſperſi a ſuis, pars cedere, alii inſequi. Neque ſigna, neque ordines obſervare. Ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi reſiſtere ac propulſare. Arma, tela, equi, viri, hoſtes, cives permixti. Nihil

*of them attacked the rear, whilſt others did the ſame upon the flanks, being very preſſing and furious, inſomuch that they every where put the Romans into ſome diſorder. Of which thoſe that made the moſt gallant oppoſition were yet befooled by the enemy's unſteady way of fighting; and being themſelves wounded by the diſcharge of the enemy's weapons, made upon them at a diſtance, could not come to ſtrokes or cloſe fight with them at all. For the horſe, as they had before been inſtructed by Jugurtha, whenſoever any troop of the Roman cavalry began to purſue them, did not fly off together, or to any one certain place, but diſperſed, one one way, and another another, as much as poſſible. And ſo being ſuperior in numbers, if they could not by that means diſcourage the enemy's purſuit, they attacked them upon their dividing, in rear, or flank. But if a hill lay more convenient for their flight, than the plain, the horſes of the Numidians being uſed to the work, would eaſily make their way through the buſhes which ours, for want of being exerciſed in ſuch rough work, could not do.*

LV. *But the appearance of things during the whole tranſaction, was various, uncertain, diſmal, and miſerable. Some, ſeparated from their main body, fled, whilſt others were engaged in the purſuit of the enemy. They neither kept by their ſtandards nor companies. Where danger overtook any one, there he made a ſtand, and repulſed his adverſary. Arms of all* con-

conſilio, neque imperio agi; fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei proceſſerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique, omnibus labore & æſtu languidis, Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus inſtare, paullatim milites in unum conducit; ordines reſtituit, & cohortis legionarias quatuor advorſum pedites hoſtium collocat; eorum magna pars ſuperioribus locis feſſa conſederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, *ne deficerent, neu paterentur hoſtes fugientis vincere: neque illis caſtra eſſe, neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia ſita.* Sed nec Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat; circumire, hortari, renovare prælium, & ipſe cum delectis tentare omnia; ſubvenire ſuis, hoſtibus dubiis inſtare; quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LVI. Eo modo duo imperatores, ſummi viri, inter ſe certabant; ipſi pares, cæterum opibus diſparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorſus: Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Ro-

*ſorts, horſes, men, both enemies and Romans were all jumbled together; nothing was done under any certain conduct or command; chance ruled all. Wherefore the day was now far ſpent, whilſt the event was ſtill uncertain. Finally, when all were now quite faint with the fatigue of action, and heat of the day, Metellus perceiving the Numidians to abate of their vigour, draws by degrees his ſoldiers into one place, puts them in due order, and poſts four legionary battalions againſt the enemy's foot; a great part of which being heartily tired, were ſat down upon ſome riſing grounds. At the ſame time Metellus entreated and encouraged his men* not to faint, or ſuffer the flying enemy to get the victory. They had no camp or any fortification to fly to; all their hopes were in their arms. *Nor was Jugurtha idle in the mean time, but rid round his troops to encourage them, and renew the fight, and did, with a body of choice troops, make all imaginable efforts for the purpoſe, relieving his own men, and puſhing home upon the enemy, where they were in diſtreſs; and ſuch as ſtood firm, he kept in play, by annoying them at a diſtance.*

LVI. *And thus did theſe two great commanders ſtruggle together for victory, equally matched indeed in their own perſons, but in very different circumſtances as to other reſpects. Metellus had the advantage with regard to the courage of his men, but the diſadvantage as to ground. Jugurtha had*

mani, ubi intelligunt, neque ſibi profugium eſſe, neque ab hoſte copiam pugnandi fieri (& jam die veſper erat) advorſo colle, ſicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amiſſo loco Numidæ fuſi fugatique, pauci interiere. Pleroſque velocitas & regio hoſtibus ignara tutata ſunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis & parti copiarum pedeſtrium præfectum ab Jugurtha ſupra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergreſſus eſt, paullatim ſuos in æquum locum deducit; ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo præmiſſus erat, feſtinans pergit, quietus, uti res poſtulabat, aciem exornat; neque remittit, quid ubique hoſtes agerent, explorare. Poſtquam Rutilium conſediſſe jam, & animo vacuum accepit, ſimulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus ſuis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte ſtatuerat, quo hoſtium itineri officeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii caſtra procedit.

*the better of it in all other reſpects, excepting his men. Finally, the Romans finding no other means of ſecurity left them, ſince the enemy, by keeping at a diſtance, would give them no opportunity of engaging them, and night was now coming on apace, advance, as they were ordered, up the hill; whereupon the Numidians quitting their ground were routed, and put to flight, and ſome few of them ſlain. But the moſt of them were ſaved by the goodneſs of their heels, and the enemy's want of ſufficient acquaintance with the country, together. In the mean time Bomilcar, to whom Jugurtha, as we have above ſaid, had given the command of the elephants, and a part of the infantry, as ſoon as Rutilius was paſt him, draws down his men very leiſurely into the plain; and whilſt the lieutenant-general, according to his orders, purſues his march with all expedition to the river, he, unmoleſted, puts his troops into ſuch a diſpoſition, as the nature of the caſe required, and does not neglect to get intelligence what the enemy was every where doing. And after he was adviſed, that Rutilius was encamped, and under no apprehenſions of an enemy, and perceived too, that the ſhouting, where Jugurtha was engaged, grew louder and louder, fearing leſt the lieutenant-general, upon underſtanding the matter, ſhould return to the relief of his friends in diſtreſs, he extends his forces, which, in diſtruſt of their courage, he had drawn up in cloſe array, to a conſiderable length, in order to obſtruct his paſſage, and in that diſpoſition advances towards the camp of Rutilius.*

LVII

LVII. Romani ex improviſo pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt; nam proſpectum ager arbuſtis conſitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari; poſt, ubi æquabilem manere, &, ſicuti acies movebatur, magis magiſque appropinquare vident; cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro caſtris, ſicuti imperabatur, conſiſtunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum eſt, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidæ, tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, poſtquam eos impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt; ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere, atque opere caſtrorum & prælio feſſi, lætique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, inſtructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remiſſi patiebatur. Ac primo obſcura nocte, poſtquam haud procul inter ſe erant, ſtrepitu, velut

*LVII. The Romans were ſurprized with the ſudden appearance of a mighty duſt raiſed; for the country being thick ſet with ſhrubs, hindered the view at any diſtance: and at firſt ſuppoſed it was only occaſioned by the wind's ſweeping the dry plain; but perceiving it to be conſtant, and approach nearer and nearer, as the army advanced, and thereupon diſcovering the matter, they fly to their arms, and by order of their commander drew up before the camp. And after the enemy was come within proper diſtance, both ſides engage with a great ſhout. The Numidians only made a ſtand, whilſt they thought the elephants might be of ſervice to them; but when they ſaw them entangled amongſt the bruſh-wood, and ſeparately encloſed by the enemy, they take to their heels, and moſt of them throwing away their arms, got off ſafe by the advantage of a hill and the night together, which was now come on. Four elephants were taken; all the reſt, forty in number, were ſlain. But the Romans, although fatigued with their march, the work of encamping, and battle too, and all in the height of joy for their ſucceſs; yet as Metellus ſtaid beyond their expectation, put themſelves in due order, and advance to meet him: for the wiles of the Numidians admitted no ſlackneſs or remiſsneſs at all. And when now they were not far aſunder, the night being dark, the noiſe alarmed both ſides with the apprehenſions of an enemy advancing, the conſequence whereof had like to*

velut hoſtes adventarent, alteri apud alteros formidinem ſimul & tumultum facere; & pene imprudentia admiſſum facinus miſerabile, ni utrimque præmiſſi equites rem exploraviſſent. Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exortum. Milites alius alium læti appellant, acta edocent, atque audiunt; ſua quiſque fortia facta ad cœlum fert. Quippe res humanæ ita ſeſe habent; in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; advorſæ res etiam bonos detrectant.

*have been fatal, but that ſome horſe, diſpatched by both parties, diſcovered the truth. Whereupon their fear was followed with joy, and the ſoldiers fell to congratulating one another, and mutually imparting their accounts of the two actions, whilſt each man extolls his own behaviour to the heavens. For ſuch is the condition of mankind; upon a victory cowards may boaſt; but ill ſucceſs ſinks the ſpirits of the brave themſelves.*

LVIII. Metellus, in iiſdem caſtris quatriduo moratus, ſaucios cum cura reficit; meritos in præliis more militiæ donat; univerſos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, *ad cætera, quæ levia ſunt, parem animum gerant; pro victoria ſatis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda fore.* Tamen interim transfugas & alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret, cum paucis ne eſſet, an exercitum haberet, uti ſeſe victus gereret, exploratum miſit. At ille ſeſe in loca ſaltuoſa & natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat exercitum, numero hominum ampliorem, ſed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli, cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat

LVIII. *Metellus continued four days in the ſame camp, took due care for the recovery of his wounded men, confers preſents, as is uſual in war, upon ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late fight, commends them all in a ſpeech he made them, and gives them thanks, adviſing them* to ſhew the like courage for the diſpatch of the work remaining upon their hands, which was but inconſiderable. They had fought ſufficiently for victory; all they had now to labour for, was plunder. *Yet in the mean time he ſent out ſome deſerters, and other proper perſons, to enquire where Jugurtha was, or what he deſigned to do; whether he was only attended by few, or an army; and how he behaved himſelf after his defeat. But he was already retired to a woody part of the country, that was naturally very ſtrong; and was there raiſing an army, already greater than the former, but unfit for action, and of no account; as be-*

niebat, quod, præter equites regios, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem ſequitur. Quo cujuſque animus fert, eo diſcedunt. Neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur; ita ſe mores habent. Igitur Metellus, ubi videt etiam tum regis animum ferocem eſſe; bellum renovari, quod niſi ex illius lubidine geri non poſſet; præterea iniquum certamen ſibi cum hoſtibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam ſuos vincere; ſtatuit non præliis, neque acie, ſed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in loca Numidiæ opulentiſſuma pergit; agros vaſtat; multa caſtella & oppida, temere munita, aut ſine præſidio, capit incenditque; puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum prædam eſſe. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obſides; frumentum, & alia, quæ uſui forent, affatim præbita; ubicumque res poſtulabat, præſidium impoſitum. Quæ negotia multo magis, quam prœlium male pugnatum ab ſuis, regem terrebant. Quippe cujus ſpes omnis in fuga ſita erat; ſequi cogebatur; &, qui ſua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex inopia, quod

*ing more acquainted with huſbandry and grazing, than the buſineſs of war. The reaſon whereof was, that not a man of the Numidians attends their prince upon a defeat, excepting his own horſe-guards, but go where they pleaſe. Nor is this any blemiſh upon their honour at all, as being the faſhion. Wherefore Metellus perceiving the King's ſpirit to be ſtill undaunted, and that the war was like to grow upon him again, which could not be carried on but as Jugurtha pleaſed; and that he was not upon an equal footing with the enemy in the conteſt; that they ſuſtained leſs damage by a defeat, than his men did by a victory, he reſolved not to carry on the war in the way of pitch'd field-battles, but after a different manner. Wherefore away he marches into the richeſt parts of Numidia, where he ravages the country, and takes abundance of caſtles, and towns, that were but ſlightly fortified, or without any garriſon in them, and burns them, orders all the males of age to be put to the ſword, granting all beſides to his ſoldiers as plunder. Upon the conſternation occaſioned by this manner of proceeding, a great many people ſubmitted themſelves to the Romans, gave hoſtages, and ſupplied the army with corn, and other neceſſaries, in great plenty. Garriſons were likewiſe placed where occaſion required. Which things ſtruck a much greater terror into the King, than the late unfortunate battle had done. For he, whoſe hopes lay entirely in avoiding*

quod optumum videbatur, conſilium capit; exercitum plerumque in iiſdem locis opperiri jubet; ipſe cum delectis equitibus Metellum ſequitur; nocturnis & aviis itineribus ignoratus, Romanos palantis repente aggreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit. Et Numidæ, priuſquam ex caſtris ſubveniretur, ſicuti juſſi erant, in proxumos collis diſcedunt.

*his enemy, was now obliged to purſue him; and he that could not defend thoſe parts of his dominions, where in fight he would have conſiderable advantages, was forced to carry on the war in thoſe where he would labour under diſadvantages. Yet in this ſtraight he takes ſuch a courſe as ſeemed moſt adviſeable. He orders the army to keep generally in the ſame parts, and attends the motions of Metellus himſelf with a choice body of horſe, and by marching in the night, and through by-roads, comes unexpectedly upon the Romans that had ſtrolled from the camp, who, being moſt of them unarmed, were all either killed or taken priſoners, except ſome few that got off, yet not without being much wounded. And the Numidians, before any relief could come from the camp, according to orders, draw off to the next hills.*

LIX. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus; ut ſeque & exercitum more majorum gereret; in adverſo loco victor tamen virtute fuiſſet; hoſtium agro potiretur; Jugurtham, magnificum ex Auli ſocordia, ſpem ſalutis in ſolitudine aut fuga coegiſſet habere. Itaque ſenatus, *ob ea feliciter acta, diis immortalibus ſupplicia decernere.* Civitas, trepida antea, & ſolicita de belli eventu, læta agere; de Metello fama præclara eſſe. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti; omnibus modis feſtinare; cavere tamen nec ubi

LIX. *In the mean time there was huge joy at Rome upon the news of Metellus's ſucceſs; how he conducted himſelf and his army, in a manner conformable to that of the brave old Romans; had by his gallant behaviour gained a victory, though with the diſadvantage of the ground, and had made himſelf maſter of the enemy's country, having obliged Jugurtha, who was hugely elated with his ſucceſs againſt Aulus, to put all his hopes in flying about with ſmall parties. Wherefore the ſenate orders* publick thanſgivings to the gods upon account of the ſame. *The city, that was before in no ſmall fear, and much concerned for the iſſue of the war, was now full of joy, and cried up Metellus moſt mightily; which inſpired him with freſh zeal*

ubi hoſti opportunus fieret; meminiſſe poſt gloriam invidiam ſequi. Ita, quo clarior, eo magis anxius erat; neque poſt inſidias Jugurthæ effuſo exercitu prædari. Ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præſidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipſe, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam præda, ager vaſtabatur. Duobus locis haud longe inter ſe caſtra faciebant. Ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; cæterum, quo fuga atque formido latius creſceret, divorſi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis ſequi; tempus aut locum pugnæ quærere; qua venturum hoſtem audierat, pabulum & aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere. Modo ſe Metello, interdum Mario oſtendere; poſtremos in agmine tentare, ac ſtatim in collis regredi; rurſus aliis, poſt aliis minitari; neque prælium facere, neque otium pati, tantummodo hoſtem ab incepto retinere.

*to bring the war to a happy concluſion, for which purpoſe he uſed all poſſible application; but yet, notwithſtanding his haſte, took care to be upon his guard againſt the ſtratagems of the enemy, remembring at the ſame time that envy uſually attends upon glory, and therefore the more famous he was, the more anxious he was too; and after that ambuſcade of Jugurtha's, never ſuffered his army to diſperſe for the plunder of the country. But, when he had occaſion for corn and forage, ſome battalions of foot, with all the horſe, went as a guard to thoſe employed in that ſervice. He conducted one part of the army, and Marius the other. But the country was waſted more by the firing of towns, and other buildings, than plundering them. They uſed to pitch their camps at a ſmall diſtance from one another, and, when there was occaſion for any conſiderable action, they joined in it, but, to ſpread terror and deſolation more effectually, they generally acted ſeparately. At that time Jugurtha kept within view of them upon the hills, watching all the advantages of time and place for the attacking of them. And whereſoever he could learn the eneny deſigned to march, he deſtroyed the forage and the ſprings, of which there was great ſcarcity in that country. One while he ſhewed himſelf to Metellus, another to Marius, would fall upon their rear, then preſently make off again to the hills, and by and by alarm them again, firſt in one quarter, and then in another, neither engaging them in good earneſt, nor ſuffering them to be quiet, but only hindering them from the execution of their deſign.*

LX. Romanus imperator, ubi ſe dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoſte copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, & in ea parte, qua ſita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, ſtatuit oppugnare; ratus id, quod negotium poſcebat, Jugurtham laborantibus ſuis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis; quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmiſſumum erat. Præterea pollicetur, in tempore ſemet cum exercitu adfore. Ita, compoſitis rebus, in loca quam maxume occulta diſcedit; ac paulo poſt cognoſcit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam miſſum, quod oppidum primum omnium poſt malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, & jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit; ſimul magna voce Siccenſes hortatur, *uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam illis præclari facinoris caſum dare. Si id fecerint, poſtea ſeſe in regno, illos in*

LX. *When the Roman general found himſelf ſo harraſſed by the wily conduct of the enemy, without any poſſibility of coming to an engagement with him, he reſolved to attack Zama, the moſt conſiderable town in that part of the kingdom wherein it lies; ſuppoſing, as the caſe indeed required, that Jugurtha would come to the relief of his ſubjects in that diſtreſs, and that a battle would enſue thereupon. But he, being apprized of this intention by ſome deſerters, by great marches got thither before Metellus, and encouraged the townſmen to ſtand out, putting ſome deſerters into the place for their aſſiſtance, which of all the king's troops were the moſt to be relied on, as who could not deceive him. Moreover, he aſſures them he would be there again in due time with an army. And, after he had thus ordered his affairs, he withdrew, and got off into ſome very private parts of the country, where ſoon after he was informed that Marius had been diſpatched from the army, then upon a march, to Sicca, with a few battalians, to fetch in corn; which was the firſt town that revolted from the king after the late unfortunate battle. Thither he goes with a few choice horſe in the night, and as the Romans were coming out of town, falls upon them at the very gate. At the ſame time, with a loud voice, he begged of the Sicecenſians* to attack the battalions in rear; that fortune had put into their hands an opportunity of performing a noble feat, which if they did but lay hold of, that he liber-

*libertate ſine metu ætatem actūros.* Ac ni Marius ſigna inferre, atque evadere oppido properaviſſet; profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccenſium, fidem mutaviſſent; tanta nobilitate ſeſe Numidæ agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini, pauliſper ab rege ſuſtentati, poſtquam majore vi hoſtes urgent, paucis amiſſis, profugi diſcedunt.

LXI. Marius ad Zamam pervenit. Id oppidum in campo ſitum; magis opere, quam natura, munitum erat; nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis viriſque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit; legatis imperat, ubi quiſque curaret; deinde, ſigno dato, undique ſimul clamor ingens oritur. Neque ea res Numidas terret; infenſi intentique ſine tumultu manent; prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quiſque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; evadere alii; alii ſuccedere; ac murum modo ſuffodere, modo ſcalis aggredi; cupere prælium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proxumos ſaxa volvere; ſudes, pila, præterea pice & ſulphure tædam miſtam,

ſhould for the future enjoy his kingdom, and they their liberty, in great ſecurity. *And had not Marius, by puſhing forward, got haſtily out of the town, all, or the greateſt part of the Siccenſians, would certainly have changed ſides; ſo fickle are the Numidians. But the ſoldiers of Jugurtha, being for ſome time kept in courage by the king, upon the enemy's making a vigorous reſiſtance, ſcour off at laſt, with the loſs of ſome few of their men.*

LXI. *Marius came to Zama. That town was ſituated in a plain, better fortified by art than nature, abounding in all the conveniences of life, and well fraught with arms and men. Metellus, having provided all things that the time and occaſion required, draws his army quite round the town, and aſſigns his lieutenant-generals the ſeveral quarters they were to take care of; and then immediately, upon a ſignal given, a great ſhout is ſet up on all ſides. Which did not terrify the Numidians at all, who ſtood undaunted, ready for the reception of the enemy; and accordingly a battle enſues. The Romans, according as each man was diſpoſed, ſome fought with bullets or ſtones; ſome withdrew; others came in their room; and one while undermined, another ſcaled, the wall, eager to come to cloſe fight with the enemy. On the other ſide, the townſmen tuumbled great ſtones upon thoſe that were under the wall, and diſcharged ſharp ſtakes and lances, with pitch and ſulphur on fire, upon them. Now were thoſe,*

miſtam, ardentia mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manſerant, timor animi ſatis muniverat. Nam pleroſque jacula, tormentis, aut manu emiſſa vulnerabant; parique periculo, ſed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

*whoſe fears kept them further off, ſecure; moſt of them being wounded with weapons diſcharged from engines, or the hand; and ſo the brave, and the cowardly, were in equal danger, though not in equal credit.*

LXII. Dum apud Zamam ſic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviſo caſtra hoſtium cum magna manu invadit; remiſſis, qui in præſidio erant, & omnia magis, quam prælium, exſpectantibus, portam irrumpit. At noſtri, repentino metu perculſi, ſibi quiſque pro moribus conſulunt; alii fugere, alii arma capere, magna pars vulnerati aut occiſi. Cæterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto locum cepere paullo, quam alii, editiorem; neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt; ſed tela eminus miſſa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus fruſtrati; ſin Numidæ propius acceſſiſſent, ibi vero virtutem oſtendere, & eos maxuma vi cædere, fundere, atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum acerrume rem gereret, clamorem & tumultum hoſtilem a tergo accepit; deinde, converſo equo, animadvertit fugam ad

LXII. *During this fight at Zama, Jugurtha falls unexpectedly upon the enemy's camp, with a conſiderable force; and thoſe left for the defence of it being off their guard, as expecting not in the leaſt to be attacked, he breaks in at one of the gates. But our men, being counfounded with the ſurpriſe, provide for themſelves, each according to his natural diſpoſition. Some ran away, others took up arms; a great part of them were wounded or ſlain. And of all the number not above forty, being mindful of the Roman name, formed themſelves into a body, and ſeized upon a riſing ground; nor could be diſlodged from thence by all the fury of the enemy, but threw back upon them their own weapons, and with the more ſucceſs becauſe they were ſo many of them; and, if the Numidians came near them, they then laid about them with the utmoſt bravery, ſlaughtering, routing, and putting them to flight. In the mean time, whilſt Metellus was furiouſly engaged in the aſſault upon the town, he heard from his rear the ſhouting and noiſe of an enemy; upon which turning his horſe, he perceived a rout of perſons flying towards him; a plain*

ſe

versum fieri; quæ res licabat popularis eſſe. itur equitatum omnem caſtra propere miſit, ſtatim C. Marium, m cohortibus ſocio-m; eumque lacrumans amicitiam, perque rem-blicam, obſecrat, ne quam tumeliam remanere in rcitu victore, neve hoſ-inultos abire ſinat. e brevi mandata efficit. Jugurtha, munimen-caſtrorum impeditus, m alii ſuper vallum ecipitarentur, alii in guſtiis ipſi ſibi prope-ntes officerent, multis iſſis, in loca munita ſe-recipit. Metellus, infec-negotio, poſtquam nox erat, in caſtra cum ex-citu revortitur.

LXIII. Igitur poſtero, prius quam ad op-gnandum egrederetur, uitatum omnem in ea rte, qua regis adventus it, pro caſtris agitare bet; portas, & proxu-a loca tribunis diſpertit; inde ipſe pergit ad op-lum, atque, uti ſupe-ore die, murum aggre-tur. Interim Jugurtha occulto repente noſ-os invadit. Qui in oxumo locati fuerant, ulliſper territi pertur-ntur; reliqui cito ſub-niunt. Neque diutius umidæ reſiſtere quiviſ-nt, ni pedites cum equi-tibus

*ſign of their being friends. Where-fore he ſent away all the horſe im-mediately to the camp, and pre-ſently after them C. Marius, with ſome auxiliary battalions; and with tears begs of him* by their friend-ſhip, and the commonwealth, that he would not ſuffer any ſtain to fix upon the honour of their vic-torious army, or the enemy to get off unrevenged. *He preſently exe-cutes his orders. But Jugurtha, hindered by the rampart of the camp, whilſt ſome threw them-ſelves headlong down the ſame, and others by crowding and ſqueez-ing through the ſtraight paſſage of the gates, ſtopped one another, af-ter the loſs of a great many men, gets away again into his faſtneſſes. Metellus, upon the approach of night, draws off his army into the camp, without being able to com-paſs his deſign.*

LXIII. *Wherefore the next day, before he drew out to renew the attack, he orders all the caval-ry to patrole before the camp, on the ſide the king was to come; the gates, and the parts adjoining, he aſſigns to ſome tribunes; and then he himſelf advances up to the town, and makes an aſſault upon the wall, as he had done the day before. In the mean time, Jugurtha from his cover comes ſuddenly upon our men. Thoſe upon whom the brunt fell were put for a while into ſome diſ-order, but were ſoon relieved by the reſt. Nor would the Numidi-ans have been able to have ſtood it any long time, had not their foot, mixing with the horſe, done great execution in the battle. Upon*

tibus permiſti magnam cladem in congreſſu facerent. Quibus illi freti, non uti equæſtri prælio ſolet, ſequi, dein cedere, ſed advorſis equis concurrere, implicare, ac perturbare aciem; ita, expeditis peditibus ſuis, hoſtis pœne victos dare.

LXIV. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur; ubi quiſque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti; neque alius in alio magis, quam in ſeſe, ſpem habere; pariterque oppidani agere, oppugnare, aut parare omnibus locis; avidius alteri alteros ſauciare, quam ſemet tegere. Clamor permiſtus hortatione, lætitia, gemitu; item ſtrepitus armorum ad cœlum ferri; tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defenſabant, ubi hoſtes paullulum modo pugnam remiſerant, intenti prælium equeſtre proſpectabant. Eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modo, modo pavidos, animadverteres; ac, ſicuti audiri a ſuis, aut cerni poſſent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu ſignificare, aut niti corporibus; huc & illuc, quaſi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum eſt, nam

*whom the horſe depending, th*
*did not, according to their ordina*
*cuſtom, purſue one while, and*
*another, but charged breaſt to brea*
*confounding our troops, and putti*
*them into ſuch diſorder, that th*
*did in a manner deliver them u*
*nigh conquered, to their own lig*
*foot to diſpatch.*

LXIV. *In the mean time, th*
*was very warm work at Zam*
*each lieutenant general and t*
*bune, in their ſeveral poſts, exe*
*ing all the might they were m*
*ters of; placing their hopes of ſ*
*ceſs not in others, but themſel*
*Nor were the townſmen leſs vi*
*rous in their reſiſtance. B*
*ſides, in ſhort, were more ea*
*to wound the enemy, than ſec*
*themſelves. Shouts were mi*
*with encouragements, exultati*
*and groans. The din of a*
*reached the very heavens,*
*weapons flew thick on both ſi*
*The beſiged upon the wall, as*
*as the fury of the beſiegers abat*
*did with great attention view*
*engagement of the horſe. And*
*might have ſeen them, accord*
*as matters went with Jugurt*
*one while glad, and another w*
*frighted. And where they co*
*be heard or ſeen by their frien*
*ſome admoniſhed them of what t*
*thought proper for them to do; oth*
*encouraged them, or made ſign*
*them with their hands, putt*
*their bodies upon the ſtretch,*
*moving them this way or that,*
*if they themſelves were avoidi*
*or diſcharging of weapons amon*
*them. Which being obſerved*

n ea parte curabat, ſulto lenius agere, ac dentiam rei ſimulare; Numidas ſine tumul- regis prælium viſere. illis ſtudio ſuorum rictis, repente magna nurum aggreditur; & ſcalis adgreſſi milites pe ſumma ceperant, oppidani concur- t, lapides, ignem, alia terea tela ingerunt. ſtri primo reſiſtere; ıde, ubi unæ atque ræ ſcalæ comminutæ, ſuperſteterant afflicti t; cæteri, quo quiſque do potuere, pauci in- ri, magna pars con- i vulneribus, abeunt. inde utrimque præ- n nox diremit.

*Marius, for he commanded in that quarter, he deſignedly ſlackened his ſpeed, under pretence of being diſheartened, ſuffering the Numidians to look on and ſee the engagement of the king. But then, whilſt they were very intent upon the fight, he ſuddenly renews the aſſault upon the wall with the utmoſt violence. And now ſome of the ſoldiers were advanced upon ladders nigh the top of it, when the townſmen, flocking to the place, pour upon them ſtones, fire, and all manner of weapons beſide. Our men at firſt ſtood ſtifly to it; but ſome of them tumbling headlong to the Ground, upon the breaking of a ladder or two they were upon, the reſt ſhifted for themſelves, as well as they could, a great many of them being ſadly mauled, and few without wounds. At laſt night put an end to the fray.*

LXV. Metellus poſt- m videt fruſtra in- ptum; neque oppi- n capi, neque Jugur- m, niſi ex inſidiis, aut loco, pugnam facere; jam æſtatem exactam ; ab Zama diſcedit, in iis urbibus, quæ ab defecerant, ſatiſque nitæ loco, aut mœni- erant, præſidia impo- . Cæterum exercitum provinciam, quæ prox- a eſt Numidiæ, hie- ndi gratia collocat. eque id tempus ex alio- m more quieti, aut xuriæ, concedit; ſed, oniam armis bellum

LXV. *Metellus finding his attempt upon the town to no purpoſe, and that it was impoſſible to take it, and that Jugurtha would not fight him, but in the way of ſurprize, or upon great advantage of ground, and that the ſummer was now almoſt over, marches away from Zama, and places garriſons in thoſe cities which had revolted from him, and were ſufficiently ſtrong by nature or art. But his army he puts into winter-quarters in the province where it borders upon Numidia. Yet he did not, according to the cuſtom of others, ſpend the time in idleneſs and luxury; but, ſince he had but ſmall ſucceſs in the uſe of arms, he reſolves to lay a trap for Jugurtha,*

parum

parum procedebat, inſidias regi per amicos tendere, & eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat, & inde, vadibus datis clam Maſſivæ de nece, judicium fugerat; quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad ſe colloquendi gratia occultus veniat; dein, fide data, *ſi Jugurtham vivum, aut necatum, ſibi tradidiſſet, fore, ut illi Senatus impunitatem, & ſua ommia concederet*; facile Numidæ perſuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti ne, ſi pax cum Romanis fieret, ipſe per conditiones ad ſupplicium traderetur.

LXVI. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium, ac miſerantem fortunas ſuas accedit; monet, atque lacrumans obteſtatur, *uti aliquando ſibi liberiſque, & genti Numidarum optume merenti, provideat; omnibus prœliis ſeſe victos, agrum vaſtatum, multos mortales captos, occiſos; regni opes comminutas eſſe; ſatis ſæpe jam & virtutem militum, & fortunam tentatam; caveat, ne illo cunctante, Numi-*

*by means of his friends, and mak uſe of their treachery, inſtead o arms. Accordingly he attacks witl mighty promiſes Bomilcar, who ha been at Rome with Jugurtha, an by deſerting his bail, and flyin from thence, had evaded his trya for the murder of Maſſiva; be cauſe he had, by reaſon of his grea intimacy with him, the beſt oppor tunity of deceiving him. He fir prevails upon him to come private ly, and confer with him; an then giving him his word and ho nour upon it,* that if he delivere Jugurtha alive, or dead, the Senat ſhould grant him a pardon, an all his eſtate; *he eaſily perſwad the Numidian, who was natural perfidious, and withal afrai leſt, upon the concluſion of a pea with the Romans, he ſhould, b the articles of it, be delivered u to puniſhment.*

LXVI. *He, as ſoon as opportu nity preſented, accoſts Jugurtha full of perplexity, and lamentin his caſe; adviſing and beſeechin him with tears,* to take at la proper meaſures for his own ſafety with that of his children, and th whole nation of the Numidians which had deſerved very well a his hand. That they had, *h ſaid*, been defeated in every battle the country laid waſte, and a worl of people made priſoners, and ſlain whereby the ſtrength of his king dom had been reduced to nothing That he had ſufficiently tried bot the valour of his troops, and hi

*da*

'*æ ſibi conſulant.* His, tque talibus aliis ad deitionem regis animum mpellit. Mittuntur ad mperatorem legati, qui ugurtham imperata facurum dicerent, ac ſine illa pactione ſeſe, regnumque ſuum, in illius idem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos Senatorii ordinis ex hibernis acerſiri jubet; eorum, atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, conſilium habet. Ita more majoum, ex conſilii decreto, per legatos *Jugurthæ imperat, argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum & armorum aliquantum.* Quæ poſtquam ſine mora facta ſunt, jubet omnis perfugas vinctos adduci. Eorum magna pars, uti juſſum erat, adducti; pauci, cum primum deditio cœpit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauritaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis, viriſque, & pecunia ſpoliatus eſt, cum ipſe ad imperandum Tiſidium vocaretur, rurſus cœpit flectere animum ſuum, & ex mala conſcientia digna timere. Denique, multis diebus per dubitationem conſumptis, cum modo tædio rerum advorſarum omnia bello potiora duceret; interdum ſecum ipſe reputaret,

fortune too; and therefore ought to have a care, leſt, if he demurred any longer upon the matter, the Numidians ſhould provide for their own ſecurity without him. *With theſe, and the like arguments, he at laſt prevails upon the King to think of making a ſurrender. Accordingly deputies are diſpatched to the Roman General, to let him know, that Jugurtha would ſubmit to his pleaſure, and, without inſiſting upon any terms, would caſt himſelf, and his kingdom, upon his honour. Metellus immediately orders all the gentlemen of Senatorian rank to be ſummoned from their winter-quarters, to hold a council with them, and others, ſuch as he judged proper to adviſe with upon the occaſion. And ſo, according to ancient Roman uſage, upon a determination of the council to that effect, he, by the deputies, orders Jugurtha* to deliver up two hundred thouſand pound of ſilver, all his elephants, and ſome horſes and arms. *Which being immediately done accordingly, he commands all the deſerters from him to be brought to him in chains; and a great part of them were brought, as ordered. Some few of them, as ſoon as the affair of the ſurrender begun, fled off to King Bocchus in Mauritania. Wherefore Jugurtha being thus ſtript of arms, men, and money, upon his being ſummoned to Tiſidium, to receive further commands, begun again to change his mind, and, from a ſenſe of his guilt, to fear meeting with his deſerts. Finally, after he had ſpent many days in doubt with himſelf*

ret, quam gravis caſus in ſervitium ex regno foret; multis, magniſque præſidiis nequicquam perditis, de integro bellum ſumit. Et Romæ ſenatus, de provinciis conſultus, Numidiam Metello decreverat.

*what to do, as one while, from an uneaſineſs under his misfortunes, thinking any terms whatever preferable to war; and then again conſidering how heavy a fall he ſhould have from the height of royal majeſty into a ſtate of ſlavery; after he had now thrown away a conſiderable part of his ſtrength to no purpoſe, reſolves a-freſh upon war. Now the ſenate at Rome, being conſulted about the diſpoſal of the provinces, had voted Numidia for Metellus.*

LXVII. Per idem tempus Uticæ forte C. Mario, per hoſtias diis ſupplicanti, *magna, atque mirabilia portendi*, haruſpex dixerat; *proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus diis ageret; fortunam quam ſæpiſſume experiretur; cuncta proſpere eventura.* At illum jam antea conſulatus ingens cupido exagitabat; ad quem capiundum, præter vetuſtatem familiæ, alia omnia abunde erant; induſtria, probitas, militiæ magna ſcientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis, & divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus Sed is natus, & omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit, ſtipendiis faciundis, non Græca facundia, neq; urbanis munditiis, ſeſe exercuit; ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum

LXVII. *About the ſame time as Caius Marius was at Utica, paying his devotion to the gods by ſacrifice, the haruſpex told him,* that there appeared therein prognoſticks of great and wonderful favours deſigned him by heaven; and therefore he might depend upon the protection and bleſſing of the gods in the execution of his deſigns, and might puſh his fortune as much as he pleaſed, with aſſurance of ſucceſs. *Now he had, ſome time before this, been ſeized with a paſſionate deſire of the conſulſhip, and indeed was abundantly furniſhed with all the qualifications requiſite for obtaining it, beſides that of a noble deſcent, ſuch as induſtry, integrity, ſkill in the military art, a ſpirit great in war, but moderate in peace, far above covetouſneſs and riches, and ambitious of glory alone. He was born and brought up at Arpinum, and as ſoon as he came of age to bear arms he applied himſelf to the ſervice of his country in the wars, not to the ſtudy of the Græcian eloquence, or the fopperies of the town; and thus was his noble genius advanced to the higheſt pitch of improve-*

natum militarem a populo petit, pleriſque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magiſtratu, alium poſt alium ſibi peperit; ſemperque in poteſtatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir, (nam poſtea ambitione præceps datus eſt) conſulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magiſtratus plebes, conſulatum nobilitas inter ſe per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregius factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, & quaſi pollutus haberetur.

*ment, in the practice of laudable qualities. And therefore, when he made his firſt ſuit to the people for a tribune's commiſſion, though moſt of them were ſtrangers to his face, yet being ſoon known by his character, he was choſen by all the tribes, without exception. After that he roſe from one degree of honour to another, and behaved himſelf in them all ſo, that he was always thought worthy of a greater poſt than that he was in. Yet, as valuable a man as he was 'till that time (for afterwards he was hurried away into ſtrange exceſſes by his ambition) he durſt not venture to offer himſelf a candidate for the conſulſhip. For at that time the commons were admitted to other offices; but the conſulſhip the nobility engroſſed to themſelves, tranſmitting it from one to another. No perſon of low birth, how famous or valuable ſoever he was upon the ſcore of his own merit, was thought worthy of it, but rather a ſcandal to it.*

LXVIII. Igitur, ubi Marius haruſpicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia miſſionem rogat; cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis ſuperabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus, & ſuperbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus inſolita re, mirari ejus conſilium, & quaſi per amicitiam monere, *ne tam prava inciperet, neu ſuper*

LXVIII. *Wherefore Marius finding the predictions of the ſoothſayer concur with his own ambitious inclinations, he requeſts of Metellus his diſcharge, in order to ſue for the conſulſhip. And tho' Metellus had virtue, glory, and other deſirable qualifications in abundance, yet had he a haughty ſpirit, and pride withal, the common bane of the nobility. Wherefore, being at firſt much ſtartled with the novelty of the thing, he wondered what he meant, and pretended in friendſhip to adviſe him,* not to engage in ſo wild a project, or ſuffer his thoughts to tower above his fortune. All things were not to be

O *fortu-*

*fortunam animum gereret; non omnia omnibus cupienda eſſe; debere illi res ſuas ſatis placere; poſtremo caveret id petere a populo Rom. quod illi jure negaretur.* Poſtquam hæc, atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur; reſpondit, *ubi primum potuiſſet per negotia publica, facturum ſeſe, quæ peteret.* Ac poſtea, ſæpius eadem poſtulanti, fertur dixiſſe, *ne feſtinaret abire; ſatis mature, illum cum filio ſuo conſulatum petiturum.* Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. Quæ res Marium cum pro honore, quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine, atque ira, peſſumis conſultoribus, graſſari; neque facto ullo, neque dicto abſtinere, quod modo ambitioſum foret; milites, quibus in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea, habere; apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminoſe ſimul & magnifice de bello loqui; *dimidia pars exercitus, ſi ſibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore conſulto trahi, quod, ho-*

coveted by all men; he ought to be abundantly ſatisfied with his preſent condition. Finally, *he bid him* have a care of aſking that of the Roman people which they might very reaſonably deny him. *After he had ſaid this, and other things to the like purpoſe, but without being able to divert Marius from his deſign, he told him,* that as ſoon as the publick occaſions would permit, he ſhould comply with his requeſt. *And upon Marius's repeated inſtances to him for his diſcharge, he at laſt, they ſay, told him,* he need not be in ſo much haſte to be gone; he might ſue time enough for the conſulſhip with his ſon. *He at that time ſerved under his father, being a youth of about twenty years of age. This only made Marius more eager of carrying his point, and very much incenſed him againſt Metellus. Wherefore he now proceeded according to the inſtigation of two of the worſt of counſellors, ambition and anger; by all his words and actions he endeavoured to render himſelf popular; keeping the ſoldiers he commanded in their winter-quarters under a very looſe diſcipline; and reflecting amongſt the merchants, whereof there was a great number at Utica, upon the conduct of Metellus in the war, and boaſting mightily what he would do;* that with half the army he would in a few days have Jugurtha in chains; the war was deſignedly prolonged by the general, who, being a vain man, and having al the haughtineſs of a king in him, was too fond of his command

m

*mo inanis, & regiæ ſuperbiæ, imperio nimis gauderet.* Quæ omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant; & animo cupienti nihil ſatis feſtinatur.

*All which things appeared to them the more plauſible, becauſe the long continuance of the war affected their trade; and no expedition ſeems ſufficient to the man that is in haſte to be rich.*

LXIX. Erat præterea in exercitu noſtro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Maſtanabalis filius, Maſiniſſæ nepos, quem Micipſa teſtamento ſecundum hæredem ſcripſerat, morbis confectus, & ob eam cauſſam mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum, uti ſellam juxta poneret, item poſtea cuſtodiæ cauſſa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellaviſſet; præſidium, quod contumelioſum in eos foret, ſi equites Romani, ſatellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur, atque hortatur, ut contumeliarum in imperatorem, cum ſuo auxilio pœnas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum valido ſecunda oratione extollit; *illum regem, ingentem virum, Maſiniſſæ nepotem eſſe; ſi Jugurtha captus, aut occiſus foret, imperium Numidiæ ſine mora*

LXIX. *There was beſides in our army a certain Numidian, by name Gauda, the ſon of Maſtanabal, and grandſon of Maſiniſſa, whom Micipſa in his will had made his ſecond heir; a man diſtempered to ſuch a degree that it affected his mind. He had requeſted of Metellus the honour of a chair next him, as kings had, and afterwards a troop of Roman horſe for his guard: but he refuſed him both; the firſt, becauſe it was an honour only paid to ſuch as the Roman people complimented with the title of kings; and the latter, becauſe it would be an affront upon Roman knights to be made to attend upon a Numidian as his guard. In his concern for this refuſal, Marius addreſſes him, and encourages him, by the promiſe of his aſſiſtance, to apply for ſatisfaction for the affronts put upon him by the general. He magnifies the poor mortal, who from the influence of his diſtempers upon his mind was little better than crazed, telling him,* he was a prince, a great man, the grandſon of Maſiniſſa. If Jugurtha was but taken priſoner, or ſlain, he would, without more ado, forthwith get the kingdom of Numidia, which might luckily be brought about, if he was made conſul for

*habiturum*; *id adeo mature poſſe evenire, ſi ipſe conſul ad id bellum miſſus foret.* Itaque & illum, & equites Romanos, milites, & negotiatores, alios ipſe, pleroſque ſpes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad ſuos neceſſarios aſpere in Metellum de bello ſcribant, Marium imperatorem poſcant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honeſtiſſuma ſuffragatione conſulatus petebatur. Simul ea tempeſtate plebes nobilitate fuſa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

the management of the war. *Wherefore he, the Roman knights, ſoldiers, and merchants, were all encouraged, part by Marius, but moſt of them by the hopes of peace, to write to their friends at Rome, in a very reflecting manner, upon the conduct of Metellus in the war, at the ſame time wiſhing Marius might be made general therein. Thus was he ſupported in his pretenſions to the conſulſhip, by a very honourable intereſt made for him. At the ſame time tho the commons, having baffled the nobility by the Mamilian law, were for raiſing your upſtart gentlemen. And thus all things went on Marius's ſide.*

LXX. Interim Jugurtha, poſtquam, omiſſa deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, feſtinare, cogere exercitum; civitates, quæ ab ſe defecerant, formidine, aut oſtentando præmia adfectare; communire ſuos locos; arma, tela, aliaque, quæ ſpe pacis amiſerat, reficere, aut commercari; ſervitia Romanorum allicere, & eos ipſos, qui in præſidiis erant, pecunia tentare; prorſus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati; cuncta agitare. Igitur Vaccenſes, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, præſidium impoſuerat, fatigati regis ſuppliciis, neque antea vo-

LXX. *In the mean time Jugurtha, having dropped his intention of ſurrendering, and renewed the war, was making preparations for it with all poſſible application and expedition, and raiſing an army. He endeavoured too, partly by threats, and partly by promiſes, to engage the cities which had revolted from him, to return to their allegiance; was buſy in fortifying places; in making or buying up arms of all ſorts, and other things, which he had parted with in hopes of peace. He likewiſe attempted to wheedle over to him the Roman ſlaves, and tampered, by the influence of his money, to engage ſuch as were in garriſons to betray the towns to him. In ſhort, he left no means untried for his defence, but puſhed at all. Wherefore ſome of the principal inhabitants of Vacca, wherein Metellus had put a garri-*

luntate

luntate alienati, principes civitatis, inter ſe conjurant; nam vulgus, uti plerumque ſolet, & maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili, ſeditioſum, atque diſcordioſum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti & otio adverſum; dein, compoſitis inter ſe rebus, in diem tertium conſtituunt, quod is feſtus celebratuſque per omnem Africam, ludum & laſciviam magis, quam formidinem, oſtentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones, tribunoſque militaris, & ipſum præfectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos ſuos invitant; eos omnis, præter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant; poſtea milites palantis, inermis, quippe in tali die, ac ſine imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii ſtudio talium rerum incitati, quis acta, conſiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipſe, & res novæ ſatis placebant.

LXXI. Romani milites, improviſo metu, incerti ignarique, quod potiſſumum facerent, trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi ſigna & ſcuta erant; præſidium hoſtium, por-

*ſon, when Jugurtha made an offer of ſubmitting, being wearied out by the ſollicitations of the king, and indeed not diſſaffected to him before, the heads of them enter into a conſpiracy for betraying the town. For the common people, according to their uſual temper, eſpecially among the Numidians, were fickle, ſeditious, and contentious, fond of change, and enemies to peace and quietneſs. Theſe gentlemen, having formed their plot, pitched upon the third day after for the execution of it, becauſe that, being a feſtival much obſerved throughout all Africa, naturally gave occaſion to expect mirth and jollity, and nothing of terror at ſuch a time. When the day was come, they inthe centurions and tribunes, with the governor of the town, T. Turpilius Silanus, to their houſes, one one, and another another of them, and murdered them all during the feaſt, excepting Turpilius; after which they fall upon the ſoldiers, diſperſed about town, and unarmed, being holyday, and conſequently under no command. The commonalty too do the like, part of them at the inſtigation of the nobility, and others out of a fondneſs for the work; who, though they knew not well what was doing, or the deſign, yet liked the commotion, and the novelty of the thing.*

LXXI. *The Roman ſoldiers, upon this unexpected alarm, being in great doubt and uncertainty what courſe to take, ran in great hurry to the citadel of the town, where their ſtandards and ſhields were; but found the gates ſhut,*

tæ ante clauſæ fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis ædificiorum ſaxa, & alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque cavere anceps malum, neque a fortiſſumis infirmiſſumo generi reſiſti poſſe; juxta boni, malique, ſtrenui, & imbelles inulti obtruncati. In ea tanta aſperitate, ſæviſſumis Numidis, & oppido undique clauſo, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus; id miſericordiane hoſpitis, an pactione, an caſu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; niſi, quia illi in tanto malo, turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus inteſtabiliſque videtur. Metellus, poſtquam de rebus Vaccæ actis comperit, paullisper mœſtus e conſpectu abit; dein, ubi ira & ægritudo permiſta ſunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias feſtinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, & quam plurimos poteſt Numidas equites pariter cum occaſu ſolis expeditos educit; & poſtera die, circiter horam tertiam, pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo ſuperioribus circumventam. Ibi milites feſſos itineris magnitudine, & jam ab-

*and a guard poſted to prevent their getting in. Beſides, the women and children upon the tops of the houſes plied them off with ſtones, and aught elſe that came to hand. In this double diſtreſs, it was impoſſible for them to take any proper meaſures for their own ſecurity, nor could the braveſt reſiſt the weakeſt. The courageous and the cowardly, the vigorous and unactive, periſhed all alike unrevenged. In this diſmal caſe, the Numidians breathing nothing but deſtruction, and the gates being all cloſe, Turpilius the governor was the only man of all the Italians that got ſafe off; whether through the compaſſion of the perſon that entertained him, by compact, or chance, does not appear. But however, as in the common calamity he preferred a ſcandalous life before his honour, he muſt, I think, paſs for a deteſtable ſcoundrel. When Metellus heard of the tranſactions at Vacca, he was ſo much affected that for ſome time he declined all company; but at laſt, reſentment mixing with his ſorrow, his mind was wholly taken up with the thoughts of revenge. Accordingly he draws out the legion he wintered with, and as many light Numidian horſe, as he could get together, about ſun-ſet; and the next day, by three of the clock, he came into a plain encloſed on all ſides with riſing ground. There the ſoldiers being much fatigued with their march, and now refuſing to obey orders, he tells them that the town of Vacca was not above a mile off, and that they*

nuentis

nuentis omnia, docet oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille paſſuum abeſſe; decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus ſuis, viris fortiſſumis, atque miſerrumis, pœnas caperent. Præterea prædam benigne oſtentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo latere, pedites quam arctiſſume ire, & ſigna occultare jubet.

*ought to bear with patience the little remaining fatigue, to take vengeance for the murder of their brave, but unhappy, countrymen. At the ſame time he civilly made them an offer of the plunder of the place. The hearing of this putting new life into them, he orders the horſe to advance firſt, and the foot to follow after in cloſe array, concealing their ſtandards.*

LXXII. Vaccenſes ubi animadvertere ad ſe vorſum exercitum pergere; primo, uti res erat, Metellum eſſe rati, portas clauſere; dein, ubi neque agros vaſtari, & eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident; rurſum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites pediteſque, repente ſigno dato, alii vulgum effuſum oppido cædere; alii ad portas feſtinare; pars turres capere; ira, atque ſpes prædæ amplius, quam laſſitudo, poſſe. Ita Vaccenſes biduum modo ex perfidia lætati; civitas magna, & opulens, pœnæ cuncta aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugiſſe, ſupra oſtendimus, juſſus a Metello cauſſam dicere; poſtquam ſeſe parum expurgat, condemnatus,

LXXII. *The Vaccenſians, upon the firſt diſcovery of an army coming againſt them, ſuppoſing it to be Metellus, as it was, ſhut their gates; but, perceiving no ravage made, and that thoſe in the van were Numidian horſe, concluding that Jugurtha was there, they ſally out to meet him with great joy. Whereupon both horſe and foot, upon a ſudden ſignal given, ſome made havock of the mob that came from the town, whilſt others haſtened to the gates, and others got into the towers upon the wall; and now their paſſion, and the hopes of plunder, made them forget all their fatigue. Thus the Vaccenſians, a great and wealthy people, after a joy of two days continuance for the ſucceſs of their late treachery, were all either put to the ſword or plundered. Turpilius, the governor of the town, who, we have already ſaid, was the only one that made his eſcape, was called before a court martial by Metellus; where, making but a poor defence, he was ſentenced to die, and, being firſt laſhed, was*

verberatuſque, capite pœnas ſolvit; nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXXIII. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulſu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deſeruit, inceperat, ſuſpectus regi, & ipſe eum ſuſpiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere; diu noctuque fatigare animum; denique, omnia tentando, ſocium ſibi adjungit Nabdalſam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus clarum, acceptumque popularibus ſuis; qui plerumque ſeorſum ab rege exercitum ductare, & omnis res exſequi ſolitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ feſſo, aut majoribus adſtricto, ſuperaverant; ex quo illi gloria, opeſque inventæ. Igitur utriuſque conſilio dies inſidiis ſtatuitur; cætera, ut res poſceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalſa ad exercitum profectus; quem inter hiberna Romanorum juſſus habebat, ne ager inultis hoſtibus vaſtaretur. Is poſtquam, magnitudine facinoris perculſus, ad tempus non venit; metuſque rem impediebat: Bomilcar, ſimul cupidinibus incœpta patrandi, & timore ſocii anxius, ne, omiſſo vetere conſilio, novum quæreret; litteras ad eum per

*afterwards beheaded. For he was a Roman only with the privilege of Latium.*

LXXIII. *About the ſame time Bomilcar, at whoſe inſtigation Jugurtha had begun to make a ſurrender of his kingdom, which deſign he afterwards relinquiſhed through fear, being ſuſpected by the King, and himſelf ſuſpicious of him, out of a deſire to get rid of him, was wracking his invention day and night in the contrivance of a plot for his deſtruction; and, after a variety of projects for the purpoſe, at laſt engages Nabdalſa in the deſign, a nobleman of great eſtate and intereſt in the country, who uſed generally to command an army apart from the king, and take charge of ſuch affairs relative to the war as the king was at any time too much fatigued to attend upon in perſon, or prevented from ſo doing by buſineſs of higher concern; by which means he had acquired to himſelf great glory, and a vaſt eſtate. Wherefore by joint conſent a day was fixed for the execution of their plot, the manner whereof was to be regulated according to the exigency of the time. Upon this, Nabdalſa went to the army, which by order of the king he had within the enemy's winter-quarters, in order to oppoſe or revenge any ravage of theirs in the country. But he, ſtaggering at the greatneſs of the undertaking, and fearful of the iſſue, came not at the time appointed, which prevented the execution of the deſign. Whereupon Bomilcar, as well from an eager deſire*

ho-

homines fidelis mittit; in queis mollitiem, ſocordiamque viri accuſare; teſtari deos, per quos juraviſſet; monere, *ne præmia Metelli in peſtem converteret; Jugurthæ exitium adeſſe; cæterum, ſua ne, an virtute Metelli periret, id modo agitari; proinde reputaret cum animo ſuo, præmia an cruciatum mallet.*

*of accompliſhing his purpoſe, as alſo from a concern at the timorouſneſs of his friend, leſt he, dropping their former deſign, ſhould engage in a new one to his deſtruction, diſpatches a letter to him by ſome confidents; in which he upbraided him with cowardice and want of ſpirit; called the gods, by whom they had ſworn, to witneſs againſt him; and adviſed him* to have a care of turning the rewards they had to expect from Metellus, to their common deſtruction; that Jugurtha was on the brink of ruin; but whether that was to be effected by their r ſolution, or that of Metellus, was the only thing they wer to conſider. Wherefore he would do well to think with himſelf, which he would make choice of, rewards, or a cruel death.

LXXIV. Sed cum hæ litteræ adlatæ, forte Nabdalſa, exercito corpore feſſus, in lecto quieſcebat. Ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti ægrum animum ſolet, ſomnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus, acceptuſque, & omnium conſiliorum, niſi noviſſumi, particeps. Qui poſtquam allatas litteras audivit, ex conſuetudine ratus opera, aut ingenio ſe opus eſſe, in tabernaculum introiit; dormiente illo, epiſtolam, ſuper caput in pulvino temere poſitam, ſumit, ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis inſidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalſa, poſt paullo experrectus, ubi neque epiſtolam reperit,

LXXIV. *When this letter came to the hands of Nabdalſa, he happened to be reſting himſelf upon the bed after a fatigue of exerciſe. Upon reading of it he was full of perplexity; and, after he had wearied himſelf with muſing upon the matter, as it often happens in ſuch caſes, he fell aſleep. He had a faithful ſervant, a Numidian, much entruſted by him in the management of his affairs, highly in his favour, and acquainted with all his deſigns, excepting the laſt. Who, upon hearing a letter was brought for his maſter, ſuppoſing he might, as uſual, have occaſion for his ſervice or advice upon it, entered his tent, and finding him aſleep takes the letter, that was careleſly laid above his head upon his pillow, and reads it. Having by this means diſcovered the plot, he goes in all haſte to the king. Nabdalſa, awaking ſoon after, miſſed his letter, and, being informed*

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& rem omnem, uti acta erat, ex perfugis cognovit; primo indicem perſequi conatus; poſtquam id fruſtra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia, accedit; dicit quæ ipſe paraviſſet facere, perfidia clientis ſui præventum; lacrumans *obteſtatur per amicitiam, perque ſua antea fideliter acta, ne ſuper tali ſcelere ſuſpectum ſeſe haberet.*

*by ſome deſerters of what had paſſed, he firſt of all endeavoured to overtake the informer; but, finding he could not do that, he goes himſelf to the king, in order to mollify him, telling him* that he had been prevented in what he deſigned to do himſelf by the perfidiouſneſs of his ſervant; and *with tears* beſeeches him by his favour for him, and the merit of his former ſervices, not to ſuſpect him.

LXXV. Ad ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide reſpondit. Bomilcare, aliiſque multis, quos ſocios inſidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram oppreſſerat, ne qua ex eo negotio ſeditio oriretur. Neque poſt id locorum Jugurthæ dies, aut nox ulla quieta fuit; neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori ſatis credere; civis, hoſtis juxa metuere; circumſpectare omnia, & omni ſtrepitu paveſcere; alio, atque alio loco ſæpe contra decus regium, noctu requieſcere; interdum ſomno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere; ita formidine, quaſi vecordia exagitari.

LXXV. *The king, diſſembling the real ſentiments of his mind, gave him a kind anſwer. And then putting Bomilcar, and many others he found concerned with him in the plot, to death, ſuppreſſed his reſentment againſt Nabdalſa, for fear of an inſurrection in his favour. From this day forward Jugurtha had no quiet day or night, as not knowing how to truſt himſelf in any place or company, and fearing his ſubjects and enemies all alike. He was ever looking round him, affrighted with the leaſt noiſe, and reſted at nights ſometimes in one place, ſometimes another, unbecoming a prince. Sometimes he would ſtart ſuddenly, in great diſorder, out of ſleep, and take to his arms, and was haunted with his fears to diſtraction.*

LXXVI. Igitur Metellus, ubi de caſu Bomilcaris, & indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit; rurſus tanquam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat,

LXXVI. *When Metellus heard by ſome deſerters of the fate of Bomilcar, and the diſcovery of the plot, he makes, in all haſte, freſh preparations for the renewal of the war. And, as Marius was per-*

at, feſtinatque. Marium, atigantem de profecti-ne, ſimul & invitum, t offenſum ſibi parum doneum ratus, domum imittit. Et Romæ ple-es, litteris, quæ de Me-ello ac Mario miſſæ rant, cognitis, volenti nimo de ambobus ac-eperant. Imperatori no-ilitas, quæ antea decori uerat, invidiæ eſſe; at lli alteri generis humilitas avorem addiderat; cæ-erum in utroque magis tudia partium, quam bo-a, aut mala ſua, mode-ata. Præterea ſeditioſi nagiſtratui vulgum exa-itare, Metellum omni-us concionibus capitis rceſſere, Marii virtutem n majus celebrare. De-ique plebes ſic accenſa, iti opifices, agreſtiſque mnis, quorum res, fideſ-que in manibus ſitæ erant, elictis operibus frequen-arent Marium, & ſua neceſſaria poſt illius hono-em ducerent. Ita per-culſa nobilitate, poſt nultas tempeſtates, novo homini conſulatus man-datur; & poſtea populus a tribuno plebis Manlio Mantino rogatus, quem vellet cum Jugurtha bel-lum gerere, frequens Ma-rium juſſit. Sed ſenatus paullo ante Metello Nu-midiam decreverat, ea res fruſtra fuit.

*petually ſolliciting him for his diſcharge, and he thought he would be of ſmall ſervice to him, if detained againſt his will, and out of humour, he ſends him home. At Rome too, when the commons came to know the contents of the letters relating to Metellus and Marius, they were well pleaſed with the treatment of both. The general's noble deſcent, which before had been an ornament to him, now expoſed him to the hatred of the people, whilſt the low birth of the other procured him their favour. But party-rage prevailed more in the caſe of both than their own good or bad qualities. Beſides, ſome factious magiſtrates inflamed the popular heat, by charging Metellus in all their harangues with capital crimes, and magnifying prodigiouſly the great conduct of Marius. In ſhort, the people were ſo fired, that the mechanicks in town, with the boors from the country, whoſe ſubſtance and credit lay all in their daily labour, quitting their ſeveral employments, gave conſtant attendance upon Marius, and poſtponed their own neceſſary concerns to his honour. The nobility being by this means quite diſpirited, after much buſtle, the conſulſhip is put into the hands of this upſtart gentleman Marius. And by a bill, which the tribune of the commons, Manlius Mantinus, preferred to the people, in a full aſſembly, he was ordered to manage the war with Jugurtha. The ſenate indeed had a little before voted the province of Numidia for Metellus, but all in vain.*

LXXVII.

LXXVII. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amiſſis amicis, quorum pleroſque ipſe necaverat, cæteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri ſine adminiſtris poſſet, novorumque fidem in tanta perſidia veterum experiri periculoſum duceret, varius incertuſque agitabatur. Neq; illi res, neque conſilium, aut quiſquam hominum ſatis placebat; itinera, præfectoſque in dies mutare; modo advorſum hoſtes, interdum in ſolitudines pergere; ſæpe in fuga, at poſt paullo ſpem in armis habere; dubitare, virtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet. Ita, quocumque intenderat, res advorſæ erant. Sed inter eas moras repente ſeſe Metellus cum exercitu oſtendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati, inſtructique; dein prælium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnæ adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum; ceteri omnes ejus milites primo congreſſu pulſi, fugatique; Romani ſignorum, & armorum, & aliquanto numero hoſtium potiti. Nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis magis pedes, quam arma, tuta ſunt.

LXXVI. *In the mean time Jugurtha having loſt all hi friends, the greateſt part of the being put to death by himſelf, an the reſt, for fear of the like fat flying over to the Romans, or Kin Bocchus, being not in a condition carry on the war without miniſter or proper aſſiſtants; and thinkin it dangerous, after the perfidio uſage he had met with from h old friends, to try the faith of ne ones, he was in vaſt perplexity a uncertainty what to do. Nothin no advice, no body could pleaſe hi He changed his marches, and t governors of towns, every da Sometimes he advanced againſt t enemy, ſometimes he made off in the deſarts. He oftentimes plac his hopes in flight, and preſen after in his arms; being in dou whether the courage, or the fidel of his ſubjects, was leſs to be co fided in. Thus, turn his thoug which way he would, all thi ſeemed to be againſt him. Whilſt was in this wavering condition, a ſudden Metellus appears with army. The Numidians were put order of battle, and drawn up, well as the ſhortneſs of the ti would allow; after which the fig begun; which continued ſome tin where the king was perſona preſent; but the reſt of the ar was routed and put to flight, at t very firſt ſhock. The Romans took their ſtandards and arms, with ſmall number of priſoners. For almoſt all the battles that we fought, their heels ſecured the N midians more than their arms.*

LXXVI

LXXVIII. Ea ſuga u[illegible]urtha impenſius mo-o rebus ſuis diffidens, um perfugis, & parte quitatus in ſolitudines, ein Thalam pervenit, id ppidum magnum, & pulentum; ubi plerique ıeſauri, filiorumque ejus ıultus pueritiæ cultus rat. Quæ poſtquam Ietello comperta ſunt, uamquam inter Thalam umenque proxumum, ı ſpatio millium quin-uaginta, loca arida, at-ue vaſta eſſe cognave-ıt; tamen ſpe patrandi elli, ſi ejus oppidi poti-ıs foret, omnis aſperita-ːs ſupervadere, ac natu-am etiam vincere aggre-itur. Igitur omnia ju-ıenta ſarcinis levari ju-et, niſi frumento dierum ecem; cæterum utres ıodo, & alia aquæ ido-ıea portari. Præterea onquirit ex agris quam lurimum poteſt domiti ecoris; eoque imponit aſa cujuſque modi, ple-aque lignea, collecta ex uguriis Numidarum. Ad ıoc finitimis imperat, qui e poſt regis fugam Me-ello dediderant, quam-plurimum quiſque aquæ portaret; diem, locum-que, ubi præſto forent, prædicit. Ipſe ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam eſſe ſupra diximus, jumenta onerat. Eo mo-

LXXVIII. *After this defeat, Jugurtha deſpairing more than ever of ſucceſs, got off with ſome deſerters, and a part of the horſe, into the deſerts, from whence he came to Thala, a great and wealthy town; where moſt of his treaſure lay, and his ſons were generally educated. Upon advice of which, Metellus, tho' all the country betwixt Thala and the next river, of fifty miles extent, was dry and waſte; yet in hopes of finiſhing the war, if he could but make himſelf maſter of that town, he reſolves to encounter all manner of hardſhips, and conquer even nature itſelf. Wherefore he orders all the beaſts of burden to be eaſed of all their luggage, in order to carry corn ſufficient for ten days, with leathern bottles, and other veſſels proper to put up water in. Moreover, he picks up out of the country as many horſes, and the like animals that had been broke, as he could; and loads them with veſſels of all kinds, but moſtly of wood, taken out of the cottages of the Numidians. Beſides, he orders the neighbouring people, who, after the defeat of the King, had ſubmitted to Metellus, to carry every one of them as much water as they could; and appoints time and place for their rendezvous. He loads the beaſts of carriage out of the river, which, we have above ſaid, was the nigheſt water to the town. Being thus provided, away he marches for Thala; and when he was arrived at the place where he had appointed the Numidians to meet him, and the camp was pitched and fortified,*

do

do inſtructus ad Thalam proficiſcitur. Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quod Numidis præceperat; & caſtra poſita, munitaque ſunt; tanta repente cœlo miſſa vis aquæ dicitur ut ea modo exercitui ſatis ſuperque fore. Præterea commeatus ſpe amplior; quia Numidiæ, ſicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Cæterum milites, religione, pluvia magis uſi; eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati ſeſe Diis immortalibus curæ eſſe. Deinde poſtero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui ſe locorum aſperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque inſolita re perculſi, nihilo ſegnius bellum parare; idem noſtri facere.

*there fell ſuch a vaſt quantity of rain, they tell you, that that alone would have been ſufficient for the army, and more than ſufficient. And proviſions too were brought in greater plenty than was expected; becauſe the Numidians, like moſt other people after a ſubmiſſion, had executed the orders given them, with extraordinary care. But the ſoldiers, from a ſuperſtitious whim, choſe rather to uſe the rain than river water; and the thing animated them exceedingly; becauſe they ſuppoſed by that, the immortal gods took care of them. The day following, contrary to Jugurtha's expectations, they arrived at Thalia. The towns-people, who imagined themſelves ſufficiently ſecured by the adjoining wilderneſs, being ſurprized at ſo great and uncommon an event, did, notwithſtanding, prepare for a vigorous defence; as our men did, on the other hand, for the attack.*

LXXIX. Sed rex nihil jam Metello infectum credens, quippe qui omnia arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipſam, cæteris imperitantem, induſtria vicerat, cum liberis, & magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit; neque poſtea in ullo loco amplius una die, aut una nocte moratus, ſimulabat, ſeſe negotii gratia properare; cæterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare poſſe celeritate putabat. Nam talia

LXXIX. *But the King thinking now nothing impoſſible for Metellus, as who had by his induſtry conquered arms, places, times, and finally, nature itſelf, that rules over all things elſe, fled out of the town in the night-time, with his children, and a great part of his money; and never after ſtay'd above one day, or one night, in the ſame place, pretending himſelf to be upon buſineſs that required haſte. But indeed he was afraid of being betrayed, which he hoped to prevent by his expedition; becauſe ſuch deſigns are uſually hatched by virtue of thoſe advantages, which a*

talia conſilia per otium & ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, ſimul oppidum & operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo foſſaque mœnia circumvenit. Deinde jubet locis ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, ſuperque eas aggerem jacere, & ſuper aggerem impoſitis turribus opus & adminiſtros tutari. Contra hæc oppidani feſtinare, parare; prorſus ab utriſque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore, præliiſque fatigati, poſt dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti; præda omnis a perfugis corrupta. Ii poſtquam murum arietibus feriri, reſque ſuas afflictas vident, aurum, atq; argentum, & alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant; ibi vino, & epulis onerati, illaque, & domum, & ſemet igni corrumpunt; & quas victi ab hoſtibus pœnas metuerant, eas ipſi volentes pependere. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes *uti præſidium præfectumque eo mitteret; Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem, factioſum, novis rebus ſtudere; advorſum* *quem*

*time of eaſe and reſt affords. Metellus, finding the townſ-people reſolved upon the defence of the place, and that it was well ſecured both by nature and art, draws a line of circumvallation quite round; and then orders his men to puſh up their vineæ in ſuch places as would moſt conveniently admit of them, to caſt up a mount, and from towers erected thereupon to defend the works and thoſe concerned therein. On the other hand, the townſ-men were not idle, but provided all things for their defence. In ſhort, nothing was left unattempted on either ſide. At length the Romans, within forty days after they came before the place, with a world of fatigue and hard fighting, made themſelves maſters of it. But the plunder was all deſtroyed by the Roman deſerters in town. For they, as ſoon as they found the rams begun to play upon the wall, and what a deſperate caſe they were in, carry the gold and ſilver, and every thing elſe that was valuable, to the royal palace; and there, after they had glutted themſelves with wine and good cheer, they deſtroyed all the treaſure, and themſelves too, by ſetting fire to the houſe, and voluntarily inflicted upon themſelves the puniſhment they apprehended from the enemy, if they fell into their hands. Juſt at the juncture when Thala was taken, ſome deputies came from the town of Leptis to Metellus, begging of him* to ſend a garriſon and a governor thither; that one Hamilcar there, a perſon of great birth and intereſt, was in a plot againſt the

*quem neque imperia magiſtratuum, neque leges valerent; ni id feſtinaret, in ſummo periculo ſuam ſalutem, illorum ſocios, fore.* Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Beſtiam conſulem, & poſtea Romam miſerant, amicitiam, ſocietatemq; rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, ſemper bôni, fideleſque manſere, & cuncta a Beſtia, Albino, Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti. Emiſſæ eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor, & Caius Annius præfectus.

LXXX. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum eſt, quos, accepimus, profugos ob diſcordias civilis navibus in eos locos venire; cæterum ſitum inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo ſunt ſinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxuma terræ præalta ſunt; cætera, uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempeſtate vadoſa. Nam ubi mare magnum eſſe, & ſævire cœpit ventis, limum arenamque, & ſaxa ingentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis ſimul mutatur. *Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ.* Ejus civitatis lingua

government, and was like to be to ſtrong for the magiſtrates and laws; unleſs he diſpatched away the aſſiſtance forthwith, they, the allies of the Romans, would be in the utmoſt danger. *For the Leptitani, at the very beginning of the war with Jugurtha, had ſent firſt to the conſul Beſtia, and afterwards to Rome, to deſire our friendſhip and alliance; and, their requeſt being granted, they remained true and truſty ever after, and punctually executed all orders received from Beſtia, Albinus, and Metellus. Wherefore they found from the general a ready compliance with their deſires. Four battalions of Ligurians were ſent thither, under the command of C. Annius.*

LXXX. *That town was built by the Sidonians, who, as tradition ſays, being obliged by civil broils at home to leave their native country, came by ſhipping into thoſe parts. It is ſituated betwixt the two Syrtes, which are ſo called from the nature of them. For they are two bays, almoſt in the extremity of Africa, unequal in bigneſs, but of like nature, whereof the parts nigh the ſhore are very deep; the reſt are ſome deep, ſome ſhallow, eſpecially much ſo in a ſtorm. For when the ſea begins to ſwell, and grow boiſterous by the winds, the waves drag the mud, ſand, and huge ſtones about, whereby the appearance of the places is perpetually changing with the wind; and* from this dragging they are called Syrtes. *The language of that town has undergone an alteration from*

modo

modo converſa connubio Numidarum; legum, cultuſque pleraque Sidonica; quæ eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos, & frequentem Numidiam multi vaſtique loci erant.

LXXXI. Sed, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium, atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginienſium memorare; eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempeſtate Carthaginienſes pleræque Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenſes quoque magni, atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenoſus, una ſpecie; neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum diſcerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter ſe habuit. Poſtquam utrimque legiones, item claſſes ſæpe fuſæ, fugatæque, & alteri alteros aliquantum attriverant; veriti, ne mox victos, victoreſque deſeſſos alius aggrederetur, per inducias ſponſionem faciunt, *uti certo die legati domo proficiſcerentur; quo in loco inter ſe obvii fuiſſent, is communis utriuſque populi finis haberetur.* Igitur Carthagine duo

*their inter-marriages with the Numidians; but moſt things in their laws and way of living are derived from the Sidonians, which they retained the more eaſily becauſe of their being at ſo great a diſtance from the power and influence of the king of Perſia. Betwixt them and the well inhabited parts of Numidia lies a vaſt deſart.*

LXXXI. *But ſince we are got into theſe parts, upon occaſion of mentioning the Leptitani, I think it may not be amiſs to give an account of an extraordinary wonderful action performed by two Carthaginians, which the mention of Leptis puts me in mind of. At the time the Carthaginians ruled over the greateſt part of Africa, the Cyrenians were a great and wealthy people. The country lying betwixt them and the Carthaginians was all ſandy, without variety or diſtinction, of one uniform appearance, having neither river nor mountain to fix the limits of each dominion; which thing proved the occaſion of a terrible and tedious war. After great loſſes had been ſuſtained on each ſide by land and by ſea, to the weakening of both, fearing leſt ſome third people ſhould fall upon the conquered or conquerors together, when weary, they came to a ceſſation of arms, and thereupon an agreement* that deputies ſhould, upon a day appointed, depart from each place, and where they met ſhould be the common boundary of their dominions. *Accordingly two brothers, called Philænis, were ſent from Carthage, who made their journey*

duo fratres miſſi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere; Cyrenenſes tardius iere. Id ſocordiane, an caſu acciderit, parum cognovi. Cæterum ſolet in illis locis tempeſtas haud ſecus, atque in mari retinere. Nam, ubi per loca æqualia, & nuda gignentium, ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata, ora, oculóſque implere ſolet; ita proſpectu impedito, morari iter. Poſtquam Cyrenenſes aliquanto poſteriores ſe eſſe vident, & ob rem corruptam domi pœnas metuunt; criminari Carthaginienſes ante tempus domo digreſſos; conturbare rem; denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed cum Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodo æquam, peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginienſium faciunt, *ut vel illi, quos finis populo ſuo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione ſeſe, quem in locum vellent, proceſſuros.* Philæni, conditione probata, ſeque, vitamque ſuam reipublicæ condonavere; ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienſes in eo loco Philænis fratribus aras conſecravere; aliique illis dom[i] honores inſtituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

*with all due diſpatch. But the Cyrenians were not ſo quick, whether through laſineſs, or ſome ill chance, I do not find. For in thoſe parts a ſtorm will detain travellers as effectually as by ſea. A wind ariſing upon that level and naked ſoil heaves up the ſand, and with great violence drives it in their faces and eyes, and ſo preventing their ſeeing the way before them ſtops them. When the Cyrenians found themſelves behind the other, fearing to be puniſhed at home for their miſconduct, they charged the Carthaginians with ſetting out before the time appointed for it, making a mighty buſtle upon it, as being willing to do any thing rather than go off baffled. The Carthaginians deſiring any other way of deciding the matter that was fair and equal, the Greeks made them this propoſal,* either to be buried alive there where they were for fixing the boundary of their dominion, or that they would advance as far as they thought proper upon the like condition. *The Philæni, accepting the offer, made a ſacrifice of themſelves and their lives to their country, and were buried alive. The Carthaginians dedicated altars in that place to the memory of the two brothers the Philæni, and inſtituted ſeveral other honours to be paid t[o] them at home. But now to m[y] purpoſe again.*

LXXXII. Jugurtha poſtquam, amiſſa Thala, nihil ſatis firmum contra

LXXXII. *Jugurtha, after th[e] loſs of Thala, thinking nothing ſu[f]ficiently ſecure againſt Metellus, fle[d]*

M[e]

Metellum putat; per magnas ſolitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum, incultumque, & eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit; ac paullatim conſuefacit ordines habere, ſigna ſequi, imperium obſervare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea regis Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus, & majoribus promiſſis ad ſtudium ſui perducit; queis adjutoribus regem aggreſſus, impellit, uti advorſum Romanos bellum ſuſcipiat. Id ea gratia facilius, proniuſque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujuſce belli legatos Romam miſerat, fœdus, & amicitiam petitum. Quam rem opportuniſſumam incœpto belli, pauci impediverant, cæci avaritia, queis omnia honeſta, atque inhoneſta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupſerat. Verum ea neceſſitudo apud Numidas, Mauroſque levis ducitur; quia ſinguli pro opibus, quiſque quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent, ſed reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine diſtrahitur; nullam pro ſocia obtinet; pariter omnes viles ſunt.

*with a ſmall retinue, through vaſt deſarts, into the land of the Getulians, a wild unpoliſhed people, unacquainted with the Roman name, He muſters up a great number of them, and teaches them to form companies, follow their ſtandards, obſerve command, and to behave in all reſpects like ſoldiers. He likewiſe, by great preſents, and greater promiſes, engages in his intereſt ſome of the greateſt favourites of King Bocchus, by whoſe aſſiſtance he at laſt prevails with the king to undertake a war againſt the Romans. Which was the more eaſily brought about, becauſe Bocchus, in the beginning of this war, had ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to treat upon an alliance with the Roman people. Which thing, tho' likely to prove of ſingular ſervice in the war, yet ſome gentlemen, blinded with avarice, who were ready for any kind of work, honourable or otherwiſe, if they were but well paid for it, had obſtructed. Bocchus's daughter had likewiſe before this been married to Jugurtha. But the tie of affinity is little regarded among the Numidians and Moors, becauſe with them every man may have as many wives as he can maintain, and accordingly ſome have ten, others more, but the kings more than any body. Thus the mind being divided by the number, they look upon none as a friend or companion, but treat them all with contempt alike.*

LXXXIII. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt; ibi, fide data, & accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit; *Romanos injuſtos, profunda avaritia, communes omnium hoſtis eſſe; eandem illos cauſſam belli cum Boccho habere, quam ſecum, & cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitanti, queis omnia regna advorſa ſint; tum ſeſe, paullo ante Carthaginienſes, item regem Perſen, poſt, uti quiſque opulentiſſimus videatur, ita Romanis hoſtem fore.* His, atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter conſtituunt; quod ibi Q. Metellus prædam, captivoſque, & impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut capta urbe, operæ pretium fore; aut, ſi Romanus auxilio ſuis veniſſet, prælio ſeſe certaturos. Nam callidus id modo feſtinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne, moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXIV. Imperator poſtquam de regum ſocietate cognovit, non temere, neque uti ſæpe, jam victo Jugurtha conſueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit; cæ-

LXXXIII. *Wherefore the two armies meet in a place appointed by the kings; where, after they had pledged their faith to one another, Jugurtha fired the ſoul of Bocchus, by talking to the following effect;* That the Romans were an unjuſt people, of inſatiable avarice, and the common enemies of mankind. They had juſt as much cauſe of war with Bocchus, as with himſelf and other nations, the luſt of dominion, for the ſake of which they looked upon all kings as enemies. At that time he was; not long before the Carthaginians, and king Perſes, bad been their enemies, and ſo would every prince hereafter be, eſpecially of conſiderable power and ſtrength. *After he had ſaid this, and other things to the like purpoſe, they reſolve to march together to the town of Cirta, becauſe Q. Metellus had there lodged the booty and priſoners he had taken in the war, together with the baggage of the army. Jugurtha ſuppoſed the enterprize would either be well worth their while if they took the city, or, if the Romans came to the aſſiſtance of their friends, a battle muſt enſue. For he ſlily endeavoured, with all the haſte he could, to break the peace betwixt Bocchus and the Romans, leſt upon demurring he ſhould change his mind.*

LXXXIV. *When the Roman general heard of this alliance betwixt the two kings, he does not upon all occaſions, and in all places, as before, after Jugurtha had been ſeveral times defeated, offer the enemy battle; but, pitching his*

terum,

terum, haud procul ab Cirta caſtris munitis, reges opperitur; melius eſſe ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hoſtis acceſſerat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datum. Nam Conſulem factum ante acceperat. Quibus rebus ſupra bonum, aut honeſtum perculſus, neque lacrumas tenere, neque moderari linguam; vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in ſuperbiam vortebant; alii bonum ingenium contumelia accenſum eſſe; multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur; nobis ſatis cognitum eſt, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria ſua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuiſſe, ſi adempta provincia alii, quam Mario, traderetur.

LXXXV. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, & quia ſtultitiæ videbatur, alienam rem periculo ſuo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, poſtulatum, *ne ſine cauſſa hoſtis populo Romano fieret; habere eum magnam copiam ſocietatis, amicitiæque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello eſſet*; quam-

*camp not far from Cirta, he waits for the kings, thinking it not proper to engage with the Moors, an enemy he was not yet acquainted with, but upon ſome advantage. In the mean time, he had notice by letters from Rome that the province of Numidia was aſſigned to Marius. For he had heard before that he was made conſul. With which things he was prodigiouſly affected, to a degree inconſiſtent with all equity and decency, inſomuch that he could neither refrain from tears, or govern his tongue; and, tho' he was an extraordinary perſon in other reſpects, yet under trouble of mind he was too impatient, which ſome imputed to his pride, others to a juſt reſentment of the contumelious uſage he had, many to a concern that the victory he had got ſhould be ſnatched out of his hands. But it appears pretty plain to me that he was more diſturbed at the advancement of Marius than the injury done to hmſelf, and would not have borne it ſo heavily if the province that was taken from him had been given to any body elſe but Marius.*

LXXXV. *Wherefore, as well upon account of this reſentment, as becauſe it ſeemed a folly to take care of another man's buſineſs, at his own hazard, he diſpatches meſſengers to Bocchus, to deſire* he would not become an enemy to the Roman people without any occaſion given for it. That he had now a fine opportunity of entering into the Roman alliance, which would be much better for him than a war.

*quam opibus ſuis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum ſumi facile, cæterum ægerrume deſinere; non in ejuſdem poteſtate initium ejus, & finem eſſe; incipere cuivis etiam ignavo licere; deponi, cum victores velint; proinde ſibi, regnoque ſuo conſuleret; neu florentis res ſuas cum Jugurthæ perditis miſceret.* Ad ea rex placide verba facit; *ſeſe pacem cupere, ſed Jugurthæ fortunarum miſereri; ſi eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura.* Rurſus imperator, contra poſtulata Bocchi, nuncios mittit. Ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo, ſæpe ab utroque miſſis remiſſiſque nunciis, tempus procedere, & ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.

What confidence ſoever he might repoſe in his own ſtrength, yet he ought not to change certainties for uncertainties. That it was an eaſy matter to begin a war, but not ſo eaſy to end it; ſince the beginning and ending thereof were not in the ſame hands. Any coward might begin; but the end muſt depend upon the pleaſure of the conqueror. Wherefore he adviſed him to have a care of doing any thing that might affect the ſecurity of his perſon and kingdom, and not engage his happy circumſtances in the deſperate cauſe of Jugurtha. *To this the king made a very ſmooth reply*; That he was deſirous of peace, but pitied the caſe of Jugurtha; if he might but have the ſame terms, they ſhould ſoon agree. *Again the Roman general ſends meſſengers with an anſwer to Bocchus's demand, wherein ſomething was granted, other things denied. And, by ſending meſſengers backward and forward in this manner, the time was ſpun out, and the war, as Metellus wiſhed, kept at a ſtand.*

LXXXVI. At Marius, ut ſupra diximus, cupientiſſuma plebe, conſul factus, poſtquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus juſſit, antea jam infeſtus nobilitati, tum vero multus, atque ferox inſtare; ſingulos modo, modo univerſos lædere; dictitare, *ſeſe conſulatum ex victis illis ſpolia cepiſſe*; alia præterea magnifica pro ſe, & illis dolentia; interim, quæ bello

LXXXVI. *But Marius, as was ſaid above, having been made conſul by the people with a very extraordinary zeal, and got by their grant too the province of Numidia, was now more violent and furious againſt the nobility than ever, tho' he was keen enough in that way before. Sometimes he would reflect upon them ſingly, ſometimes upon the whole body; and would often ſay*, that he had vanquiſhed them, and had taken from them the conſulſhip as ſpoil from a conquered enemy. *And other things too he*

opus

opus erant, prima habere; poſtulare legionibus ſupplementum; auxilia a populis, & regibus, ſociiſque arceſſere; præterea ex Latio fortiſſumum quemque, plerosque militia, paucos fama cognitos accire, & ambiendo cogere homines emeritis ſtipendiis proficiſci. Neque illi ſenatus, quamquam adverſus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; cæterum ſupplementum etiam lætus decreverat; quia, neque plebi militiam volenti, putabatur, & Marius, aut belli uſum, aut ſtudium vulgi amiſſurus. Sed ea res fruſtra ſperata. Tanta lubido cum Mario eundi pleroſque invaſerat; ſeſe quiſque præda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuſcemodi animis trahebant; & eos non paullum oratione ſua Marius arrexerat. Nam poſtquam, omnibus, quæ poſtulaverat, decretis, milites ſcribere vult, hortandi cauſſa, ſimul & nobilitatem, uti conſueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo diſſeruit.

*ſaid boaſtingly of himſelf, and that heartily vexed them. But the making of due preparations for the war was his principal care. He demanded recruits for the army; ſent for auxiliary forces from kings and ſtates in alliance with us; particularly from Latium he ſummoned the choiceſt men, moſt of them known well enough in the army, but few elſewhere. He did likewiſe by his perſuaſions prevail with old ſoldiers, that had ſerved up their time in the wars, to engage in the ſervice again. And tho' the ſenate hated him, yet they durſt refuſe him nothing; nay, they were forward enough to vote him recruits, becauſe it was ſuppoſed the commonalty would not much care for the ſervice, and ſo Marius would either not be able to make his levies, or incur their diſpleaſure by ſo doing. But herein they were baulked, ſo fond were moſt of them of going along with Marius, each man flattering himſelf with the hopes of returning home victorious, and enriched with the ſpoils of war, or of other ſuch-like advantages. And Marius had, by a ſpeech of his to them, contributed not a little to the raiſing of ſuch expectations in them. For reſolving, after what he deſired had been voted for him, to raiſe recruits, he ſummoned the people to an aſſembly, as well to encourage them to favour his deſign, as to take occaſion, according to his cuſtom, of inveighing againſt the nobility. Both which he did in the following manner.*

LXXXVII. *Scio ego, Quirites, pleroſque non*

LXXXVII. I am ſenſible, gentlemen, that the generality of

 *iiſdem*

*iiſdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, & poſtquam adepti ſunt, gerere; primo induſtrios, ſupplices, modicos eſſe; dehinc per ignaviam, & ſuperbiam, ætatem agere; ſed mihi contra videtur. Nam, quo univerſa reſpublica pluris eſt, quam conſulatus, aut prætura, eo majore cura illam adminiſtrari, quam hæc peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo beneficio veſtro negotii ſuſtineam. Bellum parare, ſimul & ærario parcere; cogere ad militiam eos, quos nolis offendere; domi, foriſque omnia curare; & ea agere inter invidos, occurſantis, factioſos; opinione, Quirites, aſperius eſt. Ad hoc, alii ſi deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum & affinium opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc præſidio adſunt; mihi ſpes omnes in memet ſitæ; quas neceſſe eſt & virtute, & innocentia tutari; nam alia infirma ſunt. Et illud intelligo, Quirites, omnium ora in me converſa eſſe; æquos, bonoſque favere; quippe benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum eſt; uti neque vos capiamini, & illi fruſtra ſint. Ita*

ſuch as apply to you for preferment in the ſtate behave not in the ſame manner after they have compaſſed their deſigns as before. At firſt they are induſtrious, ſubmiſſive, and modeſt; after their advancement, lazy and proud. But I have quite different ſentiments in the caſe: for, as the good of the community is of much higher importance than the conſulate or prætorſhip, with juſt ſo much the more care ought that to be purſued than theſe. Nor am I inſenſible what a weight of buſineſs your late kindneſs has laid upon me. To make preparations for the war, and at the ſame time to be ſparing of the public money; to oblige thoſe to the ſervice abroad that one is loth to offend; to take care for the due management of all affairs, both at home and abroad; and this amidſt numbers of envious, thwarting, factious people, all this, I ſay, gentlemen, is difficult beyond imagination. Beſides, others, if they fail in the performance of their duty, are protected by their quality, the gallant behaviour of their anceſtors, the power of their relations and friends, and their own numerous dependants. But all my hopes are in myſelf. My good behaviour and integrity muſt be my only protection, for I have nothing elſe to truſt to. I am well aware too, gentlemen, that the eyes of all people are upon me; that the juſt and the good are my friends, as being ſenſible of the ſervices I have done my country; but that the nobility are watching all advanta-

*ad*

*ad hoc ætatis a pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula conſueta habeam. Quæ ante veſtra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deſeram, non eſt conſilium, Quirites. Illis difficile eſt in poteſtatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem ſeſe probos ſimulavere; mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optumis artibus egi, bene facere jam ex conſuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha juſſiſtis; quam rem nobilitas ægerrume tulit. Quæſo, reputate cum animis veſtris, num id mutari melius ſit, ſi quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris proſapiæ, ac multarum imaginum, & nullius ſtipendii; ſilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, feſtinet, ſumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii ſui. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperare juſſiſtis, is ſibi imperatorem alium quærat.*

ges to be upon me. And therefore I am the more obliged to uſe my utmoſt endeavours that you may not be baulked, but they may. I have from my youth up been inured to hardſhip and danger of all kinds. Which, before your favours conferred upon me, I did ſolely out of a principle of generoſity, I ſhall not, to be ſure, gentlemen, neglect to do, now that I have received my reward. It is a hard matter to thoſe to keep within any bounds, when poſſeſſed of power, who, to obtain it, only put on a counterfeit ſhew of goodneſs. But with me, who have ſpent all my days in the practice of the moſt laudable qualities, uſe is become ſecond nature. You have commanded me to make war with Jugurtha, to the great vexation of the nobility. I beſeech you, conſider with yourſelves, whether it would not be better to ſend upon this, or any other the like occaſion, one of the tribe of the nobility, a man of an ancient and noble family, and that has never been in the ſervice of his country abroad. Ay, why not? He would, though frighted and confounded in the midſt of buſineſs, for want of experience, get ſome of the commons to direct him in his duty. And ſo it commonly happens, that the perſon you have appointed to command, is obliged to get ſome body to command him.

LXXXVIII. *At ego ſcio, Quirites, qui, poſtquam conſules facti ſunt, acta majorum, & Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint; homines*

LXXXVIII. I have, indeed, gentlemen, known ſome, who after they were made conſuls read the noble actions of our anceſtors, with the military inſtructions laid down by the Greeks. Prepoſterous

*præ-*

*præpoſteri. Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore poſterius, re, atq; uſu prius eſt. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum ſuperbia me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire, & legere ſolent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet geſſi; quæ illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos exiſtumate, facta, an dicta pluris ſint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam. Mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur. Quanquam ego naturam unam, & communem omnium exiſtumo, ſed fortiſſumum quemque generoſiſſumum. Ac ſi jam ex patribus Albini, aut Beſtiæ quæri poſſet, mene, an illos ex ſe gigni maluerint; quid reſponſuros creditis, niſi, ſeſe liberos quam optumos voluiſſe? Quod ſi jure me deſpiciunt; faciant idem majoribus ſuis; quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiæ, periculis etiam meis; quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti ſuperbia, ita ætatem agunt, quaſi veſtros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quaſi honeſte vixerint. Næ illi falſi ſunt, qui diverſiſſumas res pariter ex-*

creatures! For the management of an office is indeed poſterior, in point of time, to the choice of the perſon to officiate; but with reſpect to the qualifications neceſſary for the ſame, it is prior to it. Compare me, gentlemen, the firſt of my family that has attained to any conſiderable ſtation in the government, with your haughty nobles. What they are accuſtomed only to hear and read, I have in part ſeen, and in part managed myſelf in perſon. What they have learnt from books, the ſame I have learnt by ſerving in the wars. Now do you yourſelves judge, whether actions or words are of more account. They deſpiſe the meanneſs of my deſcent; I deſpiſe their incapacity for buſineſs. I am upbraided with my fortune, they with their ſcandalous vices. Tho' I think the nature of man to be one and common to all, but that the braveſt is the moſt noble. And if now the fathers of Albinus, or Beſtia, could be conſulted, whether they would rather have choſen me for their deſcendant, or them, what anſwer do you think they would make, but that they ſhould have deſired the moſt deſerving men might have been their ſons? But if they have reaſon to deſpiſe me, let them do the ſame by their anceſtors, whoſe nobility, like mine, took its riſe from their noble behaviour. They envy my advancement; let them then envy my activity, my integrity, and dangers too; becauſe it was by theſe I attained to the former. But men corrupted with pride,

*ſpectant,*

*ſpectant, ignaviæ voluptatem, & præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in ſenatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores ſuos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores ſeſe putant; quod contra eſt. Nam, quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum ſocordia flagitioſior. Et profecto ita ſe res habet; majorum gloria poſteris quaſi lumen eſt, neque bona eorum, neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujuſce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites. Verum id, quod multo præclarius eſt, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui ſint. Quod ex aliena virtute ſibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt; ſcilicet quia imagines non habeo, & quia mihi nova nobilitas eſt; quam certe peperiſſe, quam acceptam corrupiſſe melius eſt.*

live as if they deſpiſed the honours you have to beſtow, and yet ſue for them, as if they had lived honourably. Truly, they are much miſtaken, who expect at once two things of very different nature, the pleaſure of idleneſs, and the rewards of virtue. And when they harangue too before you, or in the ſenate, they are ever running out into the praiſes of their anceſtors, and think they receive a luſtre from the relation of their noble actions; whereas it is quite the reverſe. For the more illuſtrious their lives were, the more ſcandalous is the baſe behaviour of theſe their deſcendants. And indeed the caſe is thus. The glory of the antients is a light held out before their poſterity, that ſuffers neither their good or ill qualities to be concealed. This is what I want, gentlemen. But I can tell you of ſomething elſe, which is much greater, my own actions. Now mind how unreaſonable they are. What they arrogate to themſelves from the noble behaviour of others, that they will not allow me to reap from my own; for no other reaſon truly, but that I have no images of my anceſtors to ſhew, and becauſe my nobility is of very late date; which it is certainly better for a man to be the founder of in his own family than to be a diſgrace to that received from his anceſtors.

LXXXIX. *Equidem ego non ignoro, ſi jam mihi reſpondere velint, abunde illis facundam, & compoſitam orationem fore. Sed in Maxumo veſtro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me, voſque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reti-*

LXXXIX. I know indeed, if they have a mind to reply upon me, they will find plenty of elegant polite language for the purpoſe. But however, ſince upon your late advancement of me to the high dignity I poſſeſs, they every where let looſe their tongues againſt both you and me in the

*cere;*

*cere; ne quis modeſtiam in conſcientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ex animi mei ſententia, lædere nulla oratio poteſt. Quippe vera, neceſſe eſt bene prædicet; falſam, vita moreſque mei ſuperant. Sed quoniam veſtra conſilia accuſantur, qui mihi ſummum honorem, & maxumum negotium impoſuiſtis; etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum pœnitendum ſit. Non poſſum, fidei cauſſa, imagines, neque triumphos, aut conſulatus majorum meorum oſtentare; at, ſi res poſtulet, haſtas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona, præterea cicatrices advorſo corpore. Hæ ſunt meæ imagines hæc nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, ſed quæ ego meis plurimis laboribus, & periculis quæſivi. Non ſunt compoſita verba mea; parvi id facio; ipſa ſe virtus ſatis oſtendit; illis artificio opus eſt, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Græcas didici. Parum placebat eas diſcere, quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optuma reipublicæ doctus ſum; hoſtem ferire, præſidia agitare, nihil metuere, niſi turpem famam; hiemem, & æſta-*

vileſt reproaches, I was reſolved not to be ſilent; leſt any one ſhould take my modeſty for an argument of guilt. For indeed, their language, in my opinion, cannot affect me; ſince, if what they ſay be true, it muſt be to my honour; but if falſe, my life and behaviour confute it. But becauſe your conduct is blamed, who have laid upon me the greateſt honour, and buſineſs of the higheſt importance, conſider again and again, whether you have any occaſion to repent what you have done. I cannot indeed, to raiſe your confidence in me, boaſt of the images, triumphs, and conſulſhips of my anceſtors; but, if occaſion requires, I can ſhew you ſpears, a banner, horſe-trappings, and other military preſents made me, with ſcars all over my body before. Theſe are my images, this my nobility, not, like theirs, left me by inheritance; but procured by infinite hardſhips and dangers. My language is unpoliſhed; that I little regard. My virtue, without words, ſhews itſelf ſufficiently. They ſtand in need of all the art of eloquence, to varniſh over their infamous pranks. I never applied myſelf to the Græcian literature; nor did I care to learn that, which rendered not the teachers a whit the more virtuous or able men. But I have been inſtructed in other things, highly conducive to the publick good; ſuch as bravery and vigilance in war; to dread nothing but an infamous character; to bear cold and heat; to lodge upon the ground; and endure, at the ſame

*tem*

*tem juxta pati, humi requieſcere; eodem tempore inopiam, & laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hortabor; neque illos arcte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc eſt utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, cum tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum ſupplicio cogere, id eſt, dominum eſſe, non imperatorem. Hæc, atque alia majores veſtri faciundo, ſeque, & rempublicam celebravere. Quîs nobilitas freta, ipſa diſſimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; & omnes honores non ex merito, ſed quaſi debitos, a vobis repetit. Cæterum homines ſuperbiſſumi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam ſui præclaram; virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant; ea ſola neque datur dono, neque accipitur.*

XC. *Sordidum me, & incultis moribus ajunt; quia parum ſcite convivium exorno; neque hiſtrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum, quam villicum, habeo. Quæ mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites. Nam & ex parente meo, & ex aliis ſanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire,*

time, hunger and fatigue. With theſe leſſons ſhall I animate my ſoldiers. Nor ſhall I treat them hardly, but myſelf with indulgence, or make their toil the matter of my glory. This manner of command is uſeful and modeſt. For to keep the ſoldiery, by ſeverity, to ſtrict diſcipline, whilſt you take your eaſe yourſelf, is to act the part of a tyrant, not a general. By this and the like conduct did your anceſtors render themſelves, and the Roman ſtate, famous in the world; which our nobility depending upon, tho' nothing like them in their behaviour, deſpiſe us that follow their glorious example; and demand from you all places of power and truſt, not upon the foot of merit, as having deſerved them, but as other ways their due. But thoſe haughty gentry are very widely miſtaken. Their anceſtors left them all they could; riches, images, and their own glorious memory. But did not leave them their noble qualities; nor could they. Thoſe are neither given, nor received.

XC. They upbraid me as a rough unpoliſhed mortal; becauſe I am not nice in my entertainments, or have a player, or cook, of higher price than my ſteward; all which I very frankly own, gentlemen. For I have learnt from my father, and other excellent perſons, that niceneſs belongs to women, rugged induſtry to men; and that the brave ought to excel more in glory than riches; that

*nire, omnibuſque bonis oportere plus gloriæ, quam divitiarum eſſe; arma, non ſupellectilem, decori eſſe. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum æſtumant, id ſemper faciant; ament, potent; ubi adoleſcentiam habuere, ibi ſenectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri, & turpiſſumæ parti corporis; ſudorem, pulverem, & alia talia relinquant nobis quibus illa epulis jucundiora ſunt. Verum non eſt ita. Nam, ubi ſe omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpiſſumi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum eunt. Ita injuſtiſſume luxuria, & ignavia, peſſumæ artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt, reipublicæ innoxiæ cladi ſunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non illorum flagitia poſcebant, reſpondi; pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites; nam, quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurthum tutata ſunt, omnia removiſtis, avaritiam, imperitium, ſuperbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi eſt locorum ſciens, ſed mehercule, magis ſtrenuus, quam felix; nam magna pars ejus avaritia, aut temeritate ducum attrita eſt. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris eſt ætas,*

arms, and not fine furniture, was an honour to ſuch. Let them then ever mind what pleaſes them, what they hold ſo dear. Let them whore and drink, and let them ſpend their old days, as they did their young, in revelling, and pampering their bellies, and the vileſt part about them. Let them leave ſweat and duſt, with other things of like kind, to us, who prefer them before all their fine entertainments. But this they will not do. For after thoſe vileſt of men have covered themſelves with infamy, by the practice of the moſt ſcandalous vices, they will needs deprive the brave of the rewards that are their due. Thus, contrary to all juſtice, luxury and idleneſs, the worſt of qualities, are no ways detrimental to thoſe who practiſe them; at the ſame time that they prove of pernicious conſequence to the innocent commonwealth. And now, having anſwered them ſo far as my character, not their infamous behaviour, required, I ſhall add a word or two in relation to the preſent ſtate of affairs. In the firſt place, as to Numidia, have a good heart, gentlemen; for you have removed all that hitherto ſecured Jugurtha, avarice, ignorance, and pride. There is an army there indeed acquainted with the country, but, upon my word, active rather than fortunate. Fot the greateſt part of it has been deſtroyed by the avarice or raſhneſs of their commanders. Wherefore you that are of an age fit for war, join your endeavours with mine, and ſtand by the publick; nor let any one conceive any

*adni-*

*adnitimini mecum, & capeſſite rempublicam, neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum ſuperbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio conſultor idem, & ſocius periculi vobiſcum adero; meque voſque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, diis juvantibus, omnia matura ſunt, victoria, præda, laus; quæ ſi dubia, aut procul eſſent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicæ ſubvenire decet. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus; neque quiſquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni, honeſtique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, ſi timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam ſtrenuis abunde dictum puto.*

XCI.. Hujuſcemodi oratione habita, Marius poſtquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, ſtipendio, armis, aliiſque utilibus navis onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum proficiſci jubet. Ipſe interea milites ſcribere, non more majorum, neque ex claſſibus, ſed uti cujuſque libido erat, capite cenſos pleroſque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem conſulis memorabant; quod ab

apprehenſions from the miſcarriage of others, or the haughtineſs of the commanders. I in march, in battle, will be your adviſer, ſhare every danger with you, and treat you upon all occaſions no otherwiſe than I do myſelf. And indeed, with the help of the gods, all things are now ready for you, victory, ſpoil, and glory; and tho' they were uncertain, and at a diſtance, yet it would become, nevertheleſs, all gallant men to ſupport the cauſe of their country. For no man was ever rendered immortal by a lazy inactivity; nor did ever any father wiſh his ſons might never die, but rather that they might live like brave and worthy men. I ſhould ſay more, gentlemen, if words would put courage into cowards; for to the valiant, I think, I have ſaid enough.

XCI. *Marius, perceiving the ſpirits of the people to be much elevated by this ſpeech of his, ſhips with all haſte, proviſions, money, and other things requiſite for the war; and orders his lieutenant-general, A. Manlius, to go along with them. In the mean time he levies troops, not according to former uſage, nor out of the ſeveral claſſes of the people, but volunteers only, and moſt of them of the very loweſt rank. Which, ſome ſay, he did for want of better; but others, that he did it to render himſelf ſtill more popular; becauſe he had been much cried up and advanced by that*

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eo genere celebratus, auctuſque erat; & homini potentiam quærenti egentiſſumus quiſque opportuniſſumus; cui neque ſua curæ, quippe quæ nulla ſunt, & omnia cum pretio honeſta videntur. Igitur Marius cum aliquanto majore numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato. Nam Metellus conſpectum Marii fugerat; ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

*ſort of people; and to a man ambitious of power, the moſt needy are the moſt for his purpoſe; as who regard nothing of their own, having nothing to regard, and thinking every thing honourable, that is but gainful. Wherefore Marius ſetting ſail for Africa, with a number of troops, ſomewhat larger than what had been voted for him, in a few days arrives at Utica. Where the army was delivered up to him by the lieutenant-general P. Rutilius. For Metellus declined coming near Marius, for fear of ſeeing thoſe things, which he could not ſo much as hear with patience.*

XCII. Sed Conſul, expletis legionibus, cohortibuſque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem, & præda onuſtum proficiſcitur. Omnia ibi capta militibus donat; dein caſtella, & oppida natura, & viris parum munita adgreditur; prœlia multa, cæterum alia levia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites ſine metu pugnæ adeſſe; videre fugientis capi, aut occidi; fortiſſimum quemque tutiſſimum; armis libertatem, patriam, parenteſque, & alia omnia tegi; gloriam, atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi ſpatio novi, vetereſque coaluere, & virtus omnium æqualis facta. At reges ubi de adventu

XCII. *But the conſul having completed his legions, and the auxiliary battalions, out of his new levies, directs his march into a fruitful country, full of plunder; where he made a preſent of all he took to the ſoldiers. Then he fell upon ſuch forts and towns as were neither very ſtrong, nor well garriſoned. He fought likewiſe ſeveral battles in different places, but not conſiderable. In the mean time, the new-raiſed men, from the eaſineſs of the ſervice, were under no apprehenſions. They ſaw ſuch as fled taken priſoners, or ſlain; whilſt the braveſt were ſtill the ſafeſt. That liberty, their country, parents, and every thing elſe were ſecured, and glory and riches got, by arms. Thus, in a ſhort time, the new and the old ſoldiers embodied, and were upon a par in point of courage. But the two kings, as*

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Marii cognoverunt, diverſi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, ſperanti, mox effuſos hoſtis invadi poſſe; Romanos ſicuti pleroſque, remoto metu laxius, licentiuſque futuros.

XCIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus, contra ſpem ſuam lætiſſumis animis accipitur; plebi, patribuſque, poſtquam invidia deceſſerat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre, prudenterque ſuorum, & hoſtium res pariter attendere; cognoſcere quid boni utriſque, aut contra eſſet; explorare itinera regum; conſilia, & inſidias eorum antevenire; nihil apud ſe remiſſum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque & Gætulos, & Jugurtham, ex ſociis noſtris prædas agentis, ſæpe adgreſſus itinere fuderat, ipſumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quæ poſtquam glorioſa modo, neque belli patrandi cognovit, ſtatuit urbis, quæ viris, aut loco pro hoſtibus, & advorſum ſe opportuniſſumæ erant ſingulas circumvenire; ita Jugurtham aut præſidiis nuda-

*ſoon as they heard of Marius's arrival, retired different ways into places of difficult acceſs. This was Jugurtha's contrivance, in hopes that the enemy in a little time, by not keeping cloſe together, might afford an opportunity of falling on them to good advantage; as ſuppoſing the Romans, like moſt other men, when their apprehenſions of an enemy were removed, would be more looſe and licentious.*

XCIII. *In the mean time Metellus, upon his arrival in Rome, was, contrary to his expectations, very joyfully received; being equally acceptable to the Commons, and the Senate, now that the ſpirit of envy had left them. But Marius, with all poſſible application and prudence, weighing well the circumſtances of the enemy, and his own, diſcovered thereby what was advantageous for each, or otherwiſe. He watched all the movements of the two Kings, prevented all their plots and deſigns; ſuffered no remiſſneſs in his own men, or ſecurity with the enemy. Accordingly he had oftentimes, when upon a march, attacked and routed, both the Getulians and Jugurtha, as they were making off with the ſpoils they had got from our allies; and diſarmed the King himſelf, not far from the town of Cirta. But finding all this, how ſpecious an appearance ſoever it made, availed nothing towards bringing the war to a concluſion, he reſolved to inveſt all the cities that, by their number of people and ſituation, gave the enemy an advantage againſt us; ſince Jugur-*

tum, ſi ea pateretur, aut prœlio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum ſæpe miſerat, *velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab ſe hoſtile timeret.* Id ſimulaveritne, quo improviſus gravior accederet, an mobilitate ingenii pacem, atque bellum mutare ſolitus, parum exploratum eſt.

*tha by that means, would either be ſtript of thoſe ſtrong holds, if he ſuffered it, or elſe engage in battle. For Bocchus had frequently ſent meſſengers to him, to let him know,* that he was deſirous of the friendſhip of the Roman people, and that Marius need not fear any hoſtilities from him. *Whether he onl pretended ſo, that he might fall th heavier on him by ſurprize, o through the fickleneſs of his temper he was accuſtomed never to perſi long either in peace or war, I hav not been able to diſcover.*

XCIV. Sed Conſul, uti ſtatuerat, oppida, caſtellaque munita adire, partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia oſtentando, avortere ab hoſtibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, exiſtumans Jugurtham ob ſuos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abeſſe, & aliis negotiis intentum accepit; majora, & magis aſpera aggredi tempus viſum eſt. Erat inter ingentis ſolitudines oppidum magnum, atque valens, nomine Capſa; cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, & ob ea fideliſſumi habebantur; muniti advorſum hoſtis non mœnibus modo & armis, atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum aſperitate. Nam, præter oppido

XCIV. *But the Conſul, accord ing to his reſolution, now went work with the towns and caſtl of any ſtrength; ſome of which h took by aſſault; others he broug over to him by threats or promiſe At firſt indeed he only attempt ſmall places, ſuppoſing Jugurtha, protect his ſubjects, would come a battle with him. But when found that he was at a conſider ble diſtance from him, taken with other affairs, he thought time to attack the larger town and ſuch as were more difficult take. There was in the midſt a vaſt wilderneſs, a great a ſtrong town, by name Capſa; t builder whereof was ſaid to be He cules the Lybian. The people ther of were excuſed from the paym of taxes; and being under a ve gentle government in other reſpe too, were therefore thought v faithful to Jugurtha; and t were ſecured againſt an enemy, only by their walls, arms, a men, but much more by the ſituat of the place. For, excepting*

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propinqua, alia omnia vaſta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infeſta ſerpentibus; quarum vis, ſicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc, natura ſerpentum ipſa perniciofa, ſiti magis, quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaſerat, cum propter uſum belli, tum quia res aſpera videbatur; & Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud diſſimiliter ſitum, munitumque; niſi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant; Capſenſes una modo, atque ea intra oppidum jugi aqua, cætera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, & in omni Africa, quæ procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte, & ferina carne veſcebantur, neque ſalem, neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant. Cibus illis advorſum famem, atque ſitim, non libidini, neque luxuriæ erat.

XCV. Igitur Conſul, omnibus exploratis, credo diis fretus, nam contra tantas difficultates conſilio ſatis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidæ pa-

*parts nigh the town, all the reſt of the country about it was waſte and uncultivated, without water, and infeſted with ſerpents, who, like all other wild beaſts, are made keener by want of food; beſides, the nature of ſerpents, miſchievous enough in itſelf, is inflamed by thirſt above all things. Marius was very deſirous of maſtering this place, as well for the better convenience of carrying on the war, as becauſe it ſeemed a matter of vaſt difficulty; and becauſe Metellus had acquired much reputation by the taking of Thala, a town for ſituation and ſtrength much like Capſa; but that at Thala there were ſome ſprings not far from the town. The Capſenſians had but one ſpring, and that within the town, which flowed the year round; all the water they had beſides, was from the heavens. This ſcarcity of water both there, and in other parts of Africa, which lying at a diſtance from the ſea, were but indifferently cultivated, was the more eaſily born, becauſe the Numidians live moſtly upon milk, and the fleſh of wild beaſts, without the uſe of ſalt, or any other ſeaſoning or ſawce, to whet the appetite. Their food was deſigned againſt hunger and thirſt, and not made ſubſervient to whimſy and luxury.*

XCV. *Wherefore the Conſul having ſtrictly examined into all circumſtances, proceeds in his deſigns, depending, I ſuppoſe, upon the Gods; for he could hardly, by any contrivance of his own, provide effectually againſt ſo many difficulties; for he was but poorly*

bulo pecoris magis, quam arvo, ſtudent, &, quodcumque natum fuerat, juſſu regis in loca munita contulerant; ager autem aridus, & frugum vacuus ea tempeſtate; nam æſtatis extremum erat; tamen pro rei copia ſatis providentur exornat; pecus omne, quod ſuperioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit; A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi ſtipendium, & commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; dicitque ſe prædabundum poſt paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incœpto ſuo occultato, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCVI. Cæterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas æqualiter diſtribuerat; & ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat; ſimul &, inopiam frumenti lenire, &, ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox uſui forent; denique ſexto die, cum ad flumen ventum eſt, maxuma vis utrium effecta. Ibi caſtris levi munimento poſitis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti ſimul cum occaſu ſolis egrederentur, paratos eſſe jubet; omnibus ſarcinis abjectis, aqua modo ſeque & jumenta onerare. Dein,

*ſupplied with corn, becauſe the Numidians apply themſelves more to grazing than tillage; and what corn there was, had, by the King's order, been carried off into fortified towns. The land too was parched, and afforded nothing at that time, being the end of ſummer. Yet, conſidering all circumſtances, he provided pretty well for the ſupply of his army. He gave the cattl[e] they had picked up ſome days befor[e] to the auxiliary horſe to drive; or[ders] Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant general, to march with a light de[tachment] of foot to a town calle[d] Laris, where he had laid up th[e] money for the pay of the army, an[d] proviſions; and tells him, that h[e] would in a few days come to th[e] ſame place a plundering. Thus co[n]cealing his deſign, he goes to th[e] river Tana.*

XCVI. *But in his march [he] daily diſtributed cattle to the ſev[e]ral foot companies, and troops [of] horſe in the army; and took ca[re] for the making of leathern bott[les] out of their hides; at once to ma[ke] amends to them for the want [of] corn, and to provide, whilſt [the] people were ignorant of his inte[n]tions, ſuch things as would by a[nd] by be of uſe to him; ſo that up[on] his arrival ſix days after at t[he] river, a great quantity of leathe[rn] bottles were made. Then pitchi[ng] a camp, with a ſlight fortificatio[n], he orders the ſoldiers to refr[eſh] themſelves, and to be ready for [a] march at ſun-ſet; as alſo to [lay] aſide all other baggage, and lo[ad] themſelves, and their beaſts of bu[rden]*

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poſtquam tempus viſum, caſtris egreditur; noctemque totam itinere facto, conſedit; idem proxuma facit. Dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumuloſum, ab Capſa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultiſſume poteſt, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies cœpit; & Numidæ nihil hoſtile metuentes, multi oppido egreſſi; repente omnem equitatum, & cum his velociſſimos pedites curſu tendere ad Capſam, & portas obſidere jubet; deinde ipſe intentus propere ſequi, neque milites prædari ſinere. Quæ poſtquam oppidani cognovere; res trepidæ, metus ingens, malum improviſum, ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hoſtium poteſtate, coegere, uti deditionem facerent. Cæterum oppidum incenſum; Numidæ puberes interfecti; alii omnes venumdati; præda militibus diviſa. Id facinus contra jus belli non avaritia, neque ſcelere Conſulis admiſſum; ſed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis; genus hominum mobile, infidum, ante neque beneficio, neque metu coercitum.

*den, with water only. Then, at the time appointed, he draws out of the camp, and marching all night, encamped again. The ſame he did the next night too; and in the third, he arrived a little before day at a hill, not above two miles from Capſa; and there he ſtays, as privately as poſſible, with all his army. But as ſoon as day appeared, and the Numidians, as being under no apprehenſions at all of an enemy, many of them came out of the town: on a ſudden he orders all his horſe, and with them the nimbleſt of the foot, to make directly for Capſa with all ſpeed, and ſecure the gates. At the ſame time he follows them with all diligence and expedition, and ſuffers not the ſoldiers to plunder. When the towns-people found this, they were in the utmoſt confuſion and fright, with ſo unexpected a calamity; and as part of their people were without the wall, in the hands of the enemy, they found it neceſſary to ſurrender. Yet notwithſtanding, the town was burnt, the Numidians of age put to the ſword, all the reſt ſold, and the plunder of the place given to the ſoldiers. This piece of execution, contrary to the rules of war, was not occaſioned by the avarice or cruelty of the Conſul, but from a conſideration that the place was very advantageous for Jugurtha, and difficult for us to come at; the people too being fickle and faithleſs, and by no means, fair or foul, to be wrought upon.*

XCVII. Poſtquam tantam rem Marius ſine ullo ſuorum incommodo patravit; magnus, & clarus antea, major, atque clarior haberi cœpit; omnia non bene conſulta in virtutem trahebantur. Milites modeſto imperio habiti, ſimul & locupletes, ad cœlum ferre; Numidæ magis, quam mortalem, timere; poſtremo omnes ſocii, atque hoſtes credere, illi aut mentem divinam eſſe, aut Deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed Conſul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit; pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deſerta propter Capſenſium miſerias, igni corrumpit; luctu, atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitis, ac pleriſque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem aſperitate, qua Capſenſium, cæterum haud ſecus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Muluchæ, quod Jugurthæ, Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter cæteram planitiem mons ſaxeus, mediocri caſtello, ſatis patens, in immenſum editus, uno peranguſto aditu relicto; nam omnia natura, velut opere, atque conſulto, præceps. Quem locum

XCVII. *After Marius had executed this ſo important a project, without any detriment to his own troops, though he was great and famous before, he now begun to be look'd upon as greater and more famous; and all his performances, though but ill adviſed, were placed to the account of his good conduct. The ſoldiers too, being under a very gentle command, and at the ſame time enriched with plunder, cried him up to the heavens; and the Numidians dreaded him as ſomething more than man. In ſhort, all, both allies and enemies, did really believe he had either a divine mind in him, or that all things were ſignified to him by the intimation of the Gods. But the Conſul, after this ſucceſs, marches againſt ſome other towns. Some, where he met with oppoſition from the Numidians, he takes by force; but moſt of them, being deſerted becauſe of the terrible uſage of the Capſenſians, he burnt to the ground. And ſo all parts are filled with mourning and ſlaughter. Finally, having made himſelf maſter of many places, and moſt of them without loſs of blood, he goes upon another deſign, of full as much difficulty, but not of the ſame nature as that againſt the Capſenſians. For, not far from the river Mulucha, which divided the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there was, in the midſt of a plain, a rocky mountain, with a ſmall caſtle upon it. The mountain was large, and vaſtly high, with one only very ſtrait way up to the top. For it was by nature ſteep on all ſides, as*

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Marius, quod ibi regis heſauri erant, ſumma vi apere intendit; ſed ea es forte, quam conſilio, nelius geſta. Nam caſello virorum, atque arnorum ſatis magna vis, æ frumenti, & fons aquæ; aggeribus, turriuſque, & aliis machinaionibus locus importuius; iter caſtellanorum anguſtum admodum, urimque præciſum; vineæ cum ingenti periculo ruſtra agebantur. Nam cum eæ paullo proceſſerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere conſiſtere, propter iniquitatem loci; neque inter vineas ſine periculo adminiſtrare; optumus quiſque cadere, aut ſauciari; cæteris metus augeri.

*if it had been deſignedly made ſo by the hands of men. Which place Marius attempts with all his might and main to take, becauſe the king's treaſure was lodged there; and ſucceeded in his attempt, more by chance, than good management. For there was in the caſtle ſtore of men, arms, and corn, with a ſpring of water. And the place was rendered ſtill more troubleſome to take by ramparts, caſtles, and other works. The way up to the caſtle was very narrow, with a precipice on both ſides; the puſhing of vineæ along which was attended with vaſt hazard, and ſignified nothing. For after they had advanced a little they were deſtroyed by fire or great ſtones. The ſoldiers were neither able to ſtand before their works, becauſe of the great diſadvantage or inconvenience of the ground; nor could they manage their buſineſs within the vineæ without danger. The braveſt of them were either ſlain or wounded, and the reſt ſadly diſcouraged.*

XCVIII. At Marius, multis diebus, & laboribus conſumptis, anxius trahere cum animo ſuo, omitteretne incœptum, quoniam fruſtra erat; an fortunam opperiretur; qua ſæpe proſpere uſus fuerat. Quæ cum multos dies, noctesque æſtuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, caſtris aquatum egreſſus, haud procul ab latere caſtelli, quod advorſum

XCVIII, *But Marius, after he had ſpent many days and much pains to no purpoſe, was in great doubt with himſelf, whether he ſhould drop his undertaking, which had hitherto proved in vain, or wait ſome lucky turn of fortune, which he had often found favourable to him. Whilſt he was taken up with theſe thoughts, for ſeveral days and nights together, by chance a certain Ligurian, a common ſoldier of the auxiliary battalions, going out of the camp to get water, obſerved ſome ſnails creeping among the ſtones, not far from that ſide of*

prœliantibus erat, animadvertit inter ſaxa repentes cochleas; quarum cum unam, atque alteram, dein plures peteret, ſtudio legundi, paullatim prope ad ſummum montis egreſſus eſt. Ubi poſtquam ſolitudinem intellexit, more humanæ cupidinis ignara viſundi animum vortit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter ſaxa, paullulum modo prona, deinde inflexa, atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus ſaxis niſus Ligus, caſtelli planitiem perſcribit; quod cuncti Numidæ intenti prœliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox uſui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti aſcenderat, ſed tentans omnia & circumſpiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit; acta edocet; hortatur, *ab ea parte, qua ipſe aſcenderat, caſtellum tentet; pollicetur ſeſe itineris periculique ducem.* Marius cum Ligure, promiſſa ejus cognitum ex præſentibus miſit; quorum, uti cujuſque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem, aut facilem nunciavere. Conſulis animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum,

*the caſtle, which was oppoſite to the beſiegers. After he had picked up a few of them, from a deſire of having more, he was by little and little got almoſt up to the top of the mountain. And finding all quiet in that quarter, from a curioſity, natural to man, of prying into things unknown, he looks about him. By chance, in the place where he was, there grew a great oak-tree out of the ſide of the rock, with the bole tending downwards a little, but preſently taking a turn, and mounting up to a vaſt height, as all things that grow out of the earth naturally tend upwards. The Ligurian climbing up one while by the boughs of the tree, another while by pieces of the rock ſtanding out from the reſt, takes a pretty good ſurvey of the plain of the caſtle; becauſe all the Numidians were buſily engaged in fight with the beſiegers. After he had made ſuch obſervations as he thought might be of ſervice, he returns the ſame way as he came, not careleſsly as he went up, but trying and viewing all things well as he went along. Upon this, he applies himſelf to Marius in all haſte, tells him what he had done, and adviſes him* to make an attempt upon the caſtle on that ſide where he went up, and promiſes him that he would lead the way, and be the foremoſt in the danger. *Marius ſends ſome of thoſe that attended him along with the Ligurian, to ſee whether what he promiſed was feaſible or no, who brought word according to their different tempers, ſome that the matter was difficult, others that*

num, & cornicinum, numero quinque quam velociſſumos delegit, & cum his, præſidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones; omniſque Liguri parere jubet; & ei negotio proxumum diem conſtituit.

XCIX. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus viſum, paratis, compoſitiſque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Cæterum illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce, arma, ornatumque mutaverant, capite, atque pedibus nudis, uti proſpectus, niſuſque per ſaxa facilius foret; ſuper terga gladii, & ſcuta; verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia; ſimul & offenſa, quo levius ſtreperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus, ſaxa, & ſi quæ vetuſtate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati milites facilius aſcenderent, interdum timidos inſolentia itineris levare manu; ubi paullo aſperior adſcenſus erat, ſingulos præ ſe inermes mittere; deinde ipſe cum illorum armis ſequi; quæ dubia niſui videbantur, potiſſumum tentare; ac ſæpius eadem adſcendens, deſcendenſque, dein ſtatim digrediens, cæteris auda-

*it was eaſy. However, the mind of the conſul was rouſed upon the occaſion. Wherefore he chuſes out of all the trumpeters, belonging to both horſe and foot, five of the ſwifteſt, and four centurions to go along with them as a guard, ordering them to follow the direction of the Ligurian, and appoints the next day for the execution of the deſign.*

XCIX. *When the time fixt was come, the Ligurian, having provided and got all things ready for the buſineſs, goes to the place. But the centurions, as they had been inſtructed by him, had changed their arms and dreſs, being bare-headed and bare-foot too, that they might look about them, and climb the rock with more eaſe. Their ſwords and ſhields were upon their backs. The latter were of the Numidian kind, made of hides for lightneſs, and that they might not make a noiſe, if they chanced to daſh againſt the rock. The Ligurian mounted firſt, and tied cords about the ſtones, or old tree-roots which ſtuck out here and there, for the ſoldiers to climb up by. Sometimes, when they were diſcouraged by the extraordinary ruggedneſs of their paſſage, he would lend them a hand to give them a lift. Where the aſcent was a little more difficult than ordinary, he ſent them up unarmed before him, and then followed himſelf with their arms. And places, where it ſeemed doubtful whether they could paſs or no, he tried; and by going up and down the ſame ſeveral times, and then advancing again, encouraged the reſt to fol-*

audaciam addere. Igitur diu, multumque fatigati, tandem in caſtellum perveniunt, deſertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, ſicuti aliis diebus, advorſum hoſtes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit; quamquam tota die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, & ipſe extra vineas egreſſus, teſtudine acta ſuccedere, & ſimul hoſtem tormentis, ſagittariiſque, & funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ, ſæpe antea vineis Romanorum ſubverſis, item incenſis, non caſtelli mœnibus ſeſe tutabantur; ſed pro muro dies, noctesque agitare; *maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus noſtris Jugurthæ ſervitium minari; ſecundis rebus feroces eſſe.* Interim, Romanis omnibus, hoſtibuſque prælio intentis, magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro ſalute certantibus, repente a tergo ſigna canere; ac primo mulieres, & pueri, qui viſum proceſſerant, fugere; deinde, uti quiſque muro proxumus erat, poſtremo cuncti armati, inermeſque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani inſtare, fundere, ac

*low. After a tedious deal of fatigue, they came to the caſtle, which was naked on that ſide, becauſe the whole garriſon, as on other days, were attending the motions of the beſiegers. When Marius was informed by meſſengers what the Ligurian had done, tho' he had kept the Numidians under a conſtant alarm all day long, yet then encouraging his men, he ſallied out of the vineæ, and forming a teſtudo advanced towards the wall of the caſtle, and at the ſame time terrified the enemy with his engines, archers, and ſlingers, at a diſtance. But the Numidians, having often before ruined the vineæ of the Romans, and burnt them, did not uſe to defend themſelves with their walls, but poſted themſelves before them day and night*, railing at the Romans, and upbraiding Marius with madneſs. They threatened our ſoldiers too, that they ſhould be all ſlaves to Jugurtha, and were greatly elevated with their advantage. *In the mean time, while the Romans and the enemies were intent upon the fight, which was warmly carrried on on both ſides; one party contending eagerly for glory and dominion, and the other for their lives, on a ſudden the trumpets ſounded in the rear of the enemy. And firſt the women and children, who ran to ſee what the matter was, fled; after them thoſe neareſt the wall; and after them all the reſt, both armed and unarmed. Upon which the Romans puſhed forward with more violence in purſuit of them. The moſt of them they only wounded, making* ple-

pleroſque tantummodo ſauciare, dein ſuper occiſorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ certantes murum petere; neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpa invenit.

C. Cæterum, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quæſtor cum magno equitatu in caſtra venit; qui, uti ex Latio, & a ſociis exercitum cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit; idoneum viſum eſt, de natura, cultuque ejus paucis dicere. Neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi ſumus; & L. Siſenna optume, & diligentiſſume omnium, qui eas res dixere, perſecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ nobilis fuit, familia prope jam extincta majorum ignavia, litteris Græcis, atque Latinis juxta, atque doctiſſume eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, ſed gloriæ cupidior; otio luxurioſo eſſe; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, niſi quod de uxore potuit honeſtius conſuli; facundus, callidus, & amicitia facilis; ad ſimulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis; multarum

*their way in all haſte over the bodies of the ſlain to the wall; all greedy of glory, and not to be diverted by a regard to plunder. Thus the raſh conduct of Marius being happily corrected, made even a fault in him turn to his glory.*

C. *During this tranſaction, his quæſtor L. Sulla came with a great body of horſe to the camp, who had been left at Rome to draw together the troops furniſhed by the Latins, and our allies. But as the thread of the ſtory has led us to the mention of this man, I judge it may not be amiſs to give his character in a few words; for I ſhall have no further occaſion to take notice of him; and L. Seſenna, who has given us his hiſtory with the greateſt accuracy and exactneſs, of all that have pretended to write it, does not however appear to me to lay down his character with all the freedom that was requiſite. Sulla was of a Patrician family, but almoſt extinct by the want of ſpirit and activity in his anceſtors. He was well educated in all the learning both of Greece and Rome; of a great ſoul; a lover of pleaſure, but yet fonder of glory. He would, in a time of leiſure be guilty of a luxurious indulgence; but was never hindered by his pleaſures from the proſecution of buſineſs, excepting only the caſe of his marriage, in which he might have acted more for his honour. He was eloquent, artful, and open to any that ſought his friendſhip; had a prodigious talent for diſſimulation, and would*

tarum rerum, ac maxume pecuniæ largitor, atque illi, feliciſſumo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam ſuper induſtriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior eſſet. Nam, poſtea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat an pigeat diſſerere.

CI. Igitur Sulla, uti ſupra dictum eſt, poſtquam in Africam, atque in caſtra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea, & ignarus belli, ſollertiſſumus omnium in paucis tempeſtatibus factus eſt, Ad hoc milites benigne appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per ſe ipſe dare beneficia, invitus accipere; ſed ea properantius, quam æs mutuum, reddere; ipſe ab nullo repetere; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent; joca, atque ſeria cum humillumis agere; in operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias multus adeſſe; neque interim, quod prava ambitio ſolet, conſulis, aut cujuſquam boni famam lædere; tantummodo neque conſilio, neque manu priorem alium pati; pleroſque antevenire. Quibus rebus, & artibus brevi Mario, militibuſque cariſſumus factus.

*readily part with any thing to ſhew his generoſity, eſpecially money. And tho' he was, before the civil war, the moſt fortunate of all men; yet his fortune was never ſuperior to his induſtry; inſomuch that many have made a queſtion of it, whether he was more brave, or more fortunate. For as to his behaviour in the civil war, I am uncertain, whether the relation of it would give me more of ſhame or ſorrow.*

CI. *When Sulla, as has been before ſaid, was come into Africa, and arrived at Marius's camp with the horſe, tho' he had been before unſkilled and ignorant in the art of war, yet in a ſhort time he became the ableſt man that way in the army. Beſides, he was very complaiſant in his addreſs to the ſoldiers. He granted favours to many upon their requeſt; to others without it, of his own accord, whilſt he cared not to receive any himſelf; but when he did, would be in more haſte to repay them than a debt; tho' he never demanded any return from others, but rather made it his buſineſs to have others as much indebted to him as poſſible. He would engage either in ſerious or merry converſation with perſons of the loweſt rank. He was ſure to be every where with the ſoldiers in their encampments, marches, and upon the watch. Nor did he in the mean time, what wicked ambition is apt to prompt men to, go about to leſſen the character of the conſul, or any other worthy man whatever. He only would not ſuffer any one to outſtrip him in counſel, or action;*

*tion; and excelled moſt. By all which behaviour, in a ſhort time he rendered himſelf highly acceptable to Marius, and the whole army.*

CII. At Jugurtha poſtquam oppidum Capſam, aliosque locos munitos, & ſibi utilis, ſimul & magnam pecuniam amiſerat; ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, quam primum in Numidam copias adduceret; prœlii faciundi tempus adeſſe. Quem ubi cunctari accepit, dubium belli, atque pacis rationes trahere; rurſus, uti antea, proxumos ejus donis corrumpit ipſique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, ſi aut Romani Africa expulſi, aut, integris ſuis finibus, bellum compoſitum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita, amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiſcentem, vix decima parte die reliqua invadunt, rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis ſibi munimento fore; &, ſi viciſſent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum ſcientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque caſum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur ſimul conſul ex multis de hoſtium adventu cognovit; & ipſi hoſtes aderant; & prius quam exercitus aut inſtrui,

CII. *But Jugurtha, after he had loſt Capſa, with other ſtrong holds of great uſe to him, and a vaſt treaſure beſides; ſends away meſſengers to Bocchus, to haſten his march into Numidia; becauſe it was now time, he ſaid, to give the enemy battle. But finding him demur upon the matter, and doubtful with himſelf what courſe to take, whether that of war or peace; he again, as he had done before, bribes thoſe about him to his intereſt, and promiſes the Moor himſelf a third part of Numidia, if the Romans ſhould be driven out of Africa, or he left in the poſſeſſion of his dominions entire, upon the concluſion of the war. Bocchus, tempted by this bait, comes to Jugurtha with a vaſt army. After they were joined, they fall upon Marius, as he was now marching into his winter-quarters, ſo far on the day, that there was ſcarce a tenth part of it left; ſuppoſing the night, which was near at hand, would protect them, if worſted; and if they prevailed, would be no impediment to the proſecution of the victory, by reaſon they were ſo well acquainted with the country; whereas the Romans, which way ſoever the matter went, would have but a bad chance for it in the dark. Wherefore the conſul no ſooner had notice, as he had from ſeveral, of the enemy's approach, than they were upon him. And before the army could be put in order of battle, or draw their baggage together; in ſhort,*

inſtrui, aut ſarcinas colligere, denique, antequam ſignum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri, atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more prœlii, ſed catervatim, uti quoſque fors conglobaverat, in noſtros incurrunt. Qui omnes trepidi improviſo metu ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hoſtibus defenſabant; pars equos aſcendere, obviam ire hoſtibus; pugna latrocinio magis, quam prœlio ſimilis fieri; ſine ſignis, ſine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti; cædere alios, alios obtruncare; multos, contra adverſos acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumvenire; neque virtus, neque arma ſatis tegere; quia hoſtes numero plures, & undique circumfuſi erant. Denique Romani veteres, novique, & ob ea ſcientes belli, ſi quos locus, aut caſus conjunxerat, orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus ſimul tecti, & inſtructi, hoſtium vim ſuſtentabant.

*before they could receive any ſignal, or word of command, the Mooriſh and Getulian horſe, not in due order, or any regular method of fighting, but in ſcattered companies, as chance had brought them together, came pell-pell upon the Romans, who were alarmed indeed with ſo unexpected an onſet; yet mindful of their former bravery, they either took to their arms, or defended ſuch as were doing ſo, from the enemy. Part of them mounting their horſes, advanced againſt them. The fight was more like an engagement with a gang of banditti than ſoldiers. The Romans were without their ſtandards, in confuſion, horſe and foot jumbled together; whilſt the enemy's hacked and hewed among them, and attacked here and there ſuch of them as were engaged in the rear, whom neither their courage, nor arms, could ſufficiently ſecure; becauſe the enemy were more numerous, and on all ſides of them. Finally, the Romans, both old and new ſoldiers, as chance happened to join them, formed themſelves into round bodies; and ſo being ſecured on all ſides, and poſted in proper order, they bravely withſtood the enemy.*

CIII. Neque in eo tam aſpero negotio Marius territus, aut magis, quam antea, demiſſo animo fuit; ſed cum turma ſua, quam ex fortiſſumis magis, quam familiariſſumis

CIII. *In this deſperate caſe, Marius was not daunted, or a whit more diſmayed than at other times; but with his own troop, which he had formed not ſo much of friends, as the braveſt fellows in the army, flew about every where; one while*

para-

paraverat, vagari paſſim; ac modo laborantibus ſuis ſuccurrere, modo hoſtis, ubi confertiſſumi obſtiterant, invadere manu; conſulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamque dies conſumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere; atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro ſe rati, acrius inſtare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum conſilium trahit; atque, uti ſuis receptui locus eſſet, collis duos propinquos inter ſe occupat. Quorum in uno, caſtris parum amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat; alter uſui opportunus, quia magna parte editus, & præceps; pauca munimento egebat. Cæterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipſe paullatim diſperſos milites, neque minus hoſtibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit; dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem ſubducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, prœlio deterrentur; neque tamen ſuos longius abire ſinunt, ſed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato effuſi conſedere. Dein, crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari more ſuo lætari, exſultare, ſtrepere vocibus;

*relieving his own men in diſtreſs; another while falling in amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy; and by fighting himſelf in perſon, endeavoured to ſerve his ſoldiers all he could; ſince in this univerſal confuſion, it was impoſſible for him to act the proper part of a general. And tho' the day was now quite ſpent, yet did not the fury of the enemy abate at all; but as the kings had inſtructed them beforehand, ſuppoſing night would give them the advantage, they charged more deſperately than before. Marius, upon this, takes the moſt proper meaſures his preſent circumſtances would admit of; and, to provide for the retreat of his troops, ſeizes upon two hills that were near together; in one of which, not large enough to encamp on, there was a plentiful ſpring of water; the other was convenient for the purpoſe, becauſe the main of it was high and ſteep, and would require but little fortifying. However, he orders Sulla with his horſe to ſpend the night by the water. He draws by degrees his ſcattered troops together, the enemy being now in as much confuſion as they; and then carries them all, upon a full march, up the hill. Thus the kings were obliged, by the difficulty of attacking them in that ſituation, to give over the fight; but yet ſuffered not their men to withdraw to any diſtance; but encloſing both the hills within their two armies, lay ſcattered here and there. And then the barbarians, making many fires, ſpent the greateſt part of the night in mirth and jollity, and yelling*

&

& ipſi duces feroces; quia non fugere, ut pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis, ex tenebris, & editioribus locis facilia viſu, magnoque hortamento erant.

CIV. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hoſtium confirmatus, quam maxumum ſilentium haberi jubet; ne ſigna quidem, uti per vigilias ſolebant, canere; deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defeſſis jam hoſtibus, ac paullo ante ſomno captis, de improviſo vectigalis, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines ſimul omnis ſigna canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri, atque Gætuli, ignoto & horribili ſonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere, aut providere quidquam poterant; ita cunctos ſtrepitu, clamore nullo ſubveniente, noſtris inſtantibus tumultu, terrore, formidine, quaſi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fuſi, fugatique; arma, & ſigna militaria pleraque capta; pluresque eo prœlio, quam omibus ſuperioribus, interempti. Nam ſomno, & metu inſolito impedita fuga.

CV. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna proficiſcitur, quæ propter commeatum in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat;

*after their faſhion. And their leaders, proud to think they had not run away, behaved as conquerors. All theſe things were very viſible to the Romans, who were in the dark upon the hills; and gave them no little encouragement.*

CIV. *Marius being much animated by the folly of the enemy, orders a profound ſilence to be kept, and that no trumpets ſhould ſound, as uſual, at the end of every watch. Towards break of day, when the enemy were now weary and aſleep, he orders the trumpeters throughout the army to ſound at once, and the ſoldiers to make a ſally upon the enemy with a great ſhout. The Moors and Getulians being ſuddenly awakened with ſo unexpected and diſmal a noiſe, could neither fly, nor take arms; neither act, nor think of any thing for their own ſecurity; being all perfectly ſtupified with the clamour and din about their ears; whilſt our men poured in upon them in this helpleſs condition, with confuſion, terrour, and diſtraction attending them. In ſhort, they were all routed and diſperſed, moſt of their arms and military ſtandards were taken, and more men killed in that battle than all the former. For their flight was in a great meaſure prevented by ſleep and ſurprize together.*

CV. *Now Marius purſued his former deſign of marching, in order to quarter his ſoldiers, for the winter, in the towns upon the ſea-coaſt, becauſe of the plenty of pro-*

rat; neque tamen victoria ſocors, aut inſolens factus; ſed pariter, atque in conſpectu hoſtium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos, in ſiniſtra parte. A. Manlius cum funditoribus, & ſagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum curabat; primos, & extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, minime cari, & regionem ſcientiſſimi, hoſtium, iter explorabant. Simul Conſul, quaſi nullo impoſito, omnia providere; apud omnis adeſſe, laudare, increpare merentis. Ipſe armatus, intentuſque item milites cogebat; neque ſecus, atque iter facere, caſtra munire, excubitum in porta cohortis ex legionibus, pro caſtris equites auxiliarios mittere; præterea alios ſuper vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipſe circuire, non diffidentia futuri, quæ imperaviſſet, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus eſſet. Et ſane Marius illo & aliis temporibus Jugurthini belli, pudore magis, quam malo, exercitum coercebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri agebant; pars; quod a pueritia conſuetam duritiam, & alia, quæ cæteri miſerias vocant,

*viſions in thoſe parts. However, he was not rendered either careleſs, or inſolent, by his ſucceſs; but marched with his army in a ſquare figure, as if he had been in view of an enemy. Sulla was with the horſe upon the right; A. Manlius with the ſlingers and archers, as alſo ſome battalions of the Ligurians, on the left. In the van and rear he had poſted the Tribunes of the army, with ſeveral companies of foot, clear of baggage. Deſerters, who were but little ſet by, and beſides beſt acquainted with the country, were ſent out to reconnoitre the enemy. At the ſame time, the conſul overlooked every thing, as if no one had been entruſted in any ſhare of the command with him. He was every where, commending or reprimanding ſuch as deſerved it. He was armed, and upon his guard himſelf; and obliged the ſoldiers to be ſo too. Nor did he uſe this great caution only in his march, but in encamping, poſting the uſual guard of legionary ſoldiers at the gates within the camp, and auxiliary horſe without, as alſo upon the ramparts; and going the rounds to viſit the watch himſelf, not ſo much from a diſtruſt of thoſe employed to execute his orders, as to make the ſoldiers more eaſy under their fatigue, by taking an equal ſhare with them in it. And indeed Marius both then, and all the time he was employed in the war againſt Jugurtha, kept up good order in the army, more by the dint of ſhame, than puniſhment; which, many ſaid, was done purely to court the ſoldiery; but others were of opi-*

vocant, voluptati habuiſſet. Niſi tamen Reſpub. pariter, ac ſæviſſumo imperio, bene atque decore geſta.

*nion, he took a real pleaſure in that way of behaviour, as having from his youth been inured to hardſhip, and ſuch things as others count very diſmal. However, affairs were as well, and as glorioſly managed, as they could have been under the moſt ſevere commander.*

CVI. Igitur quarto deniq; die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique ſimul ſpeculatores citi ſeſe oſtendunt; qua re hoſtis adeſſe intelligitur. Sed quia diverſi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem ſignificabant; Conſul incertus, quonam modio aciem inſtrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorſum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham ſpes fruſtrata, qui copias in quatuor partis diſtribuerat, ratus ex omnibus æque aliquos ab tergo hoſtibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hoſtes attigerant, cohortatus ſuos, turmatim, & quam maxume confertis equis, ipſe aliique Mauros invadunt; cæteri in loco manentes, ab jaculis eminus emiſſis corpora tegere, & ſi qui in manus venerant, obtruncare.

CVI. *At laſt, four days after the battle, ſeveral ſcouts ſuddenly appeared on all ſides, not far from the town of Cirta; a certain ſign that the enemy was not far off. But becauſe the parties that brought intelligence from all quarters round, were in the ſame ſtory, the conſul not knowing how to draw up his army, without altering the diſpoſition of his troops at all, waits, in the place where he then was, the coming of the enemy; prepared to receive them, let them attack him in what quarter they would; which was a baulk upon Jugurtha. For he had divided his troops into four parts, ſuppoſing ſome of them would certainly ſurprize the enemy in their rear. In the mean time Sulla, whom the enemy firſt came up with, encouraging his men, with ſeveral troops of horſe, in cloſe order, fall upon the Moors. The reſt keeping their ground, only endeavoured to guard againſt the weapons, which the enemy poured in upon them at a diſtance; and if any of them came up to them, cut them down.*

CVII. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna,

CVII. *During this engagement of the horſe, Bocchus with the foot, which his ſon Volux had brought him, but who loitering upon their march, had not been at*

na, in itenere morati, adfuerant, poſtremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos erat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis inſtabat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convertit; ibi Latine, nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat, exclamat *noſtros fruſtra pugnare; paullo ante Marium ſua manu interfectum*; ſimul gladium ſanguine oblitum oſtendere, quem in pugna, ſatis impigre occiſo pedite noſtro, cruentaverat. Quod uti milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei, quam fide nuncii, terrentur; ſimulque barbari animos tollere, & in perculſos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum a fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis iis, quos advorſum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus ſtatim avertitur. At Jugurtha, dum ſuſtentare ſuos, & prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus dextra, ſiniſtra, omnibus occiſis, ſolus inter tela hoſtium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, accurrit auxilio ſuis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hoſtes jam undique fuſi.

*the former battle; falls upon the hinder part of the Roman army. Marius was then in the van, becauſe Jugurtha was there with a numerous body of troops; who receiving intelligence of Bocchus's coming, wheels off privately with a few attendants to the Roman foot, and there cries out in Latin, which he had learnt to ſpeak at Numantia,* that our men fought to no purpoſe, ſince he had ſlain Marius but a little before with his own hand; *and at the ſame time ſhewed them his ſword all bloody, which he had made ſo by killing a foot-man belonging to our army. Which, when the ſoldiers heard, they were ſhocked with the horridneſs of the thing, more than any credit they gave to it; and at the ſame time the barbarians took freſh courage, and made a very ſmart attack upon the diſheartened Romans, who were now ready to fly; when Sulla having routed thoſe he was engaged with, in his return from the purſuit of them, falls upon the Moors in their flank; whereupon Bocchus immediately flies. But Jugurtha, deſirous to ſupport his friends, and make ſure of the victory, which he had now almoſt got, was hemmed in upon the right and left by our horſe; and all his attendants being ſlain, made good his retreat, as he was by himſelf, by cautiouſly keeping upon his defence againſt the weapons poured in upon him. And in the mean time, Marius routing the horſe, comes to the relief of his men, who, he was advertiſed, gave ground before the enemy. Finally, they were now routed in all quarters.*

CVIII. Tum ſpectaculum horribile in campis patentibus; ſequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi atque viri adflicti; ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere poſſe, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac ſtatim concidere; poſtremo omnia, qua viſus erat, conſtrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; & inter ea humus infecta ſanguine. Poſtea loci Conſul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo poſt diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt; qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, *duos quam fidiſſumos ad eum mittere; velle de ſuo, & de populi Romani commodo cum iis diſſerere.* Ille ſtatim L. Sullam, & A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant; tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; uti ingenium aut averſum flecterent; aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætati, a Manlio conceſſum, pauca verba hujuſcemodi locutus.

CIX. *Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia eſt, cum te talem virum dii monuere, uti aliquando*

CVIII. *And now there was a dreadful ſight to be ſeen all over the fields, to a vaſt extent; ſome purſuing, others flying; ſome were killed, ſome taken; horſes and men tumbled together on the ground; and many that were wounded, could neither fly, nor be quiet; but endeavouring to riſe, immediately fell down again. Finally, all parts, as far as ſight could reach, were covered with arms of all ſorts, and dead bodies; and the ground ſtained with blood. The conſul having now got an unqueſtionable victory, continued his march to Cirta, the place he before deſigned for. Thither, five days after the barbarians had been beaten, came deputies from Bocchus, who, in the King's name, requeſted of Marius* to ſend to him two perſons to be confided in, that he might treat with them concerning the joint intereſt of himſelf, and the Roman people. *He immediately diſpatches away L. Sulla and A. Manlius; who, notwithſtanding they went upon the King's requeſt, yet they reſolved to ſpeak firſt, in order to work upon him, if he was ſtill obſtinate; or if he was deſirous of peace, to encourage that diſpoſition in him. Wherefore Sulla, to whom Manlius gave place, in conſideration of his eloquence, and not his age, ſpoke briefly to the following effect.*

CIX. King Bocchus, it is no ſmall joy to us, to find the Gods have put it into the heart of ſo fine a prince as you are, to chuſe at laſt

*pacem*

*pacem, quam bellum, malles; neu te optumum cum peſſumo omnium Jugurtha miſcendo commaculares; ſimul nobis demeres acerbam neceſſitudinem, pariter te errantem, & illum ſceleratiſſumum perſequi. Ad hoc, populo Romano, jam a principio inopi, melius viſum, amicos, quam ſervos, quærere; tutiuſque rati, volentibus, quam coactis, imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior amicitia noſtra; primum quod procul abſumus; in quo offenſæ minumum, gracia par, ac ſi prope adeſſemus; dein, quod parentes abunde habemus; amicorum, neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium ſatis fuit. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuiſſet. profecto ex P. R. ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepiſſes, quam mala pepeſſus eſſes. Sed quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit; cui ſcilicet placuiſſe & vim, & gratiam noſtram experiri; nunc, quando per illam licet, feſtina; atque, uti cœpiſti, perge. Multa, atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis ſuperes. Poſtremo hoc in pectus tuum dimitte, numquam P. R. beneficiis victum eſſe. Nam, bello quid valeat, tute ſcis.*

rather to be at peace, than war with us; and no longer diſparage yourſelf, a moſt excellent perſon, by uniting with the worſt man alive, Jugurtha; and at the ſame time deliver us from the odious neceſſity of purſuing you, guilty only of a miſtake, and that moſt vile wretch, with the like vengeance. It has ever been a maxim with the Roman people, ſince their firſt riſe in the world, which was but low, to procure themſelves friends, rather than ſlaves; and they have always thought it ſafer to rule over willing ſubjects, than by compulſion. No alliance can be more commodious for you than ours. In the firſt place, becauſe we are a great way off; in which caſe, there can be very ſmall occaſion of difference, and yet there may be the ſame good underſtanding as if we were near neighbours; and in the next place, becauſe we have ſubjects enough; but neither we, nor any one elſe, had ever friends enough. And I could have wiſhed, you had taken this courſe at firſt! You would certainly, by this time, have received more good at the hands of the Roman people, than you have now ſuffered evil. But as the concerns of mankind are, in the main, ſubjected to the power of fortune, who had a mind, it ſeems, that you ſhould as well feel the effects of our force, as of our favour; now that ſhe puts the latter in your power, be quick, and go on, as you have begun. Now you have great advantages for correcting your former miſtakes, by future ſervices. Finally, let

let this thought ſink deep into your mind, that the Roman people were never yet out-done in acts of kindneſs by any one. For as to their ability in war, you know that well enough yourſelf.

CX. Ad ea Bocchus placide, & benigne; ſimul pauca pro delicto ſuo verba facit; *ſe non hoſtili animo, ſed ob regnum tutandum arma cepiſſe; nam Numidiæ partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli ſuam factam, eam vaſtari a Mario, pati nequiviſſe; præterea, miſſis antea Romam legatis, repulſum ab amicitia; cæterum vetera omittere, ac tum, ſi per Mariam liceret, legatos ad Senatum miſſurum.* Dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullæ, & Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis compoſito, cum expeditis cohortibus, & parte equitatus proficiſcitur in loca ſola, obſeſſum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis præſidium impoſuerat. Tum rurſus Bocchus *felicitur*, ſeu reputando, quæ ſibi duobus præliis venerant, ſeu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia neceſſariorum quinque delegit, quorum & fides cognita, & inge-

CX. *To all this Bocchus made a very ſoft and civil reply; at the ſame time making a brief apology for his miſconduct; alledging,* that he had not taken up arms out of any hoſtile intention againſt the Romans, but for the defence of his kingdom; for that part of Numidia, out of which he had driven Jugurtha, was by the right of war, become his own; which he could not ſuffer to be laid waſte by Marius. Beſides, upon his applying formerly, by his ambaſſadors at Rome, for an alliance with us, he had been rejected, but, however, he ſhould decline all further mention of what was paſt; and now, if Marius pleaſed to give him leave, he ſhould ſend ambaſſadors again to the Senate. *Yet tho' this liberty was afterwards granted him, the mind of the barbarian received a different turn, from the influence of ſuch friends, as Jugurtha, upon hearing of the diſpatch of Sulla and Manlius to him, had bribed. In the mean time Marius, having put his army into winter-quarters, marches into the deſart, with a detachment of foot and horſe, to beſiege a tower of the king's, wherein Jugurtha had put a garriſon of Roman deſerters. Then again Bocchus, either from a conſideration of what he had ſuffered in the two battles, or upon the advice of other friends, whom Jugurtha had left uncorrupted, choſe out of the number of his friends five, the moſt emi-*

nia

nia validiſſuma erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, ſi placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet; agendarum rerum, & quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipſis permittit.

CXI. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiſcuntur; deinde a Gætulis latronibus in itinere circumventi, ſpoliatique, pavidi, ſine decore ad Sullam pergunt; quem conſul, in expeditionem proficiſcens, pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hoſtibus, uti meriti erant, ſed accurate & liberaliter habuit. Qua re barbari & famam Romanorum avaritiæ falſam, & Sullam ob munificentiam in ſeſe amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat; munificus nemo putabatur, niſi pariter volens; dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur Quæſtori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; ſimul ab eo petunt, uti fautor, conſultorque ſibi adſit; *copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis ſui & alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentia eſſe credebant*, oratione extollunt; dein, Sulla omnia pollicito, docti quo modo apud Marium, item apud Senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

*nent for their good affection and parts. Theſe he orders to go to Marius, and if he gave conſent, to Rome; and furniſhes them with full powers for the concluding of a peace at diſcretion.*

CXI. *They quickly depart for the winter-quarters of the Romans; but being trepanned in the way, and ſtript of all they had, by ſome Getulian robbers, in great fright, and a ſorry equipage, they purſue their way to Sulla; whom the conſul, when he went upon his expedition, had left proprætor. He did not treat them like fickle enemies, as they had deſerved; but with great kindneſs and generoſity. Whereupon the barbarians believed the report of the Roman avarice to be falſe; and concluded Sulla, from his generous reception of them, to be their friend. For the practice of giving, in order to corruption, was even at that time unknown to many; and no body was thought generous, but out of good will; and all preſents were reckoned arguments of kindneſs. Wherefore they acquainted the quæſtor with the inſtructions they had received from Bocchus; and at the ſame time requeſt of him to favour and aſſiſt them in their buſineſs;* magnifying extremely the forces, honeſty, and greatneſs of their prince, with other things they thought might be ſubſervient to their deſign, or a means to procure favour. *Sulla promiſed all they deſired; and being by him inſtructed how they ſhould addreſs Marius, and likewiſe the Senate, they waited there about forty days.*

CXII.

CXII. Marius poſtquam infecto negotio, quo intenderat, Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum certior factus, illoſque, & Sullam venire jubet, itemque L. Bellienum prætorem, Utica, præterea omnis undique ſenatorii ordinis; quibuſcum mandata Bocchi cognoſcit; in quibus, legatis poteſtas eundi Romam fit; & ab conſule interea induciæ poſtulabantur. Ea Sullæ & pleriſque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt, ſcilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ, & mobiles ſemper in advorſa mutantur. Cæterum Mauri impetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti cum C. Octavio Rufone, qui quæſtor ſtipendium adportaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cætera, tum maxume benignitatem, & ſtudium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæque legatis ejus poſtquam, *erraſſe regem, & Jugurthæ ſcelere lapſum*, deprecati ſunt, amicitiam & fœdus petentibus hoc modo reſpondetur.

*S. & P. R. beneficii, & injuriæ memor eſſe ſolet. Cæterum Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit; fœdus & amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.*

CXII. *Marius not ſucceeding in his attempt upon the tower, return to Cirta; where being informed of the arrival of the ambaſſadors, he orders them and Sulla to come to him; and likewiſe ſummons L. Bellienus the prætor, from Utica, and beſides him, all others of ſenatorian rank, in order to adviſe with them about the propoſals of Bocchus; the ſum whereof was liberty for his ambaſſadors to proceed to Rome, and a ceſſation of arms in the mean time. Which Sulla, with a majority of the council, approved of; but others ſtifly oppoſed, being not ſufficiently ſenſible of the uncertainty and inconſtancy of human affairs, ſubject to very unlucky revolutions. The Moors, having obtained all they deſired, three of them went for Rome, with C. Octavius Rufo, who had come as Quæſtor into Africa, with pay for the army; two return to the king, and, beſides other things, acquaint him more particularly with Sulla's kindneſs and concern for him; which was very agreeable. At Rome, the ambaſſadors confeſſing* their king had been in an error, which he was led into by the wickedneſs of Jugurtha; and deſiring the favour to be admitted into the Roman alliance, *they received an anſwer in the following words.*

The ſenate and people of Rome are ever mindful of any kindneſs or injury done them; however, they pardoned Bocchus's offence, in conſideration of his repentance; and ſhould admit him into their alliance, when he deſerved it.

CXIII. Quibus rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, ut Sullam ad ſe mitteret; cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis conſuleretur. Is miſſus cum præſidio equitum, atque peditum, funditorum Baleariorum; præterea iere ſagittarii, & cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi cauſſa; neque his ſecus, atque aliis armis, advorſum tela hoſtium, quod ea levia ſunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quincto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus ſeſe oſtendit; qui temere & effuſe euntes, Sullæ, aliiſque omnibus & numerum ampliorem vero, & hoſtilem metum efficiebant. Igitur ſe quiſque expedire; arma atque tela tentare, intendere; timor, aliquantus, ſed ſpes amplior, quippe victoribus, & advorſum eos, quos ſæpe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum præmiſſi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CXIII. *Bocchus, upon advice of this, requeſted of Marius, by a letter, to ſend Sulla to him, that he might adviſe with him about their common concerns; who was ſent accordingly, with a guard of horſe and foot, Balearian ſlingers, bowmen, and a battalion of Pelignians, with arms uſed by the Velites, for the better expedition in their march, and becauſe they would be as well ſecured by that ſort of arms, as any other, againſt the enemies, who uſed the like themſelves. Upon the fifth day of their march, Volux, the ſon of Bocchus, all on a ſudden appeared upon a wide plain, with no more than a thouſand horſe, but who, by the looſe order of their march, gave occaſion to Sulla, and all that were with him, to imagine them to be more numerous, and enemies too. Whereupon, every man now ſtands to his arms, ready to receive them. Their hopes, however, were above their fears, as being to engage with an enemy which they had often conquered. In the mean time, ſome horſe being ſent to reconnoitre them, bring word again how the matter was, and that there was no danger.*

CXIV. Volux adveniens quæſtorem appellat, *ſe a patre Boccho obviam illis ſimul, & præſidio miſſum.* Deinde eum, & proxumum diem ſine metu conjuncti eunt. Poſt, ubi caſtra locata, & diei veſper erat; repente

CXIV. *Volux, coming up, addreſſes himſelf to the quæſtor, and tells him,* that he had been ſent by his father to meet him, and to wait upon him with that guard to his court. *Accordingly they continue their march together, for that and the next day, very quietly. But in the evening, when they had now*

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te Maurus, incerto vultu pavens, ad Sullam adcurrit; dicitque, *ſibi ex ſpeculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abeſſe*; *ſimul, uti noctu clam ſecum profugeret, rogat, atque hortatur.* Ille animo feroci, negat ſe *toties fuſum Numidam pertimeſcere*; *virtuti ſuorum ſatis credere*; *etiam ſi certa peſtis adeſſet, manſurum potius, quam proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertæ, ac forſitan paullo poſt morbo interituræ vitæ parceret.* Cæterum ab eodem monitus, *uti noctu proficiſcerentur*, conſilium adprobat; ac ſtatim milites cœnatos eſſe in caſtris; igneſque creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia ſilentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere feſſis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu ſolis caſtra metabatur; cum equites Mauri nunciant, *Jugurtham, circiter duum millium intervallo, ante conſediſſe.* Quod poſtquam auditum eſt, tum vero ingens metus noſtros invadit; credere ſe proditos a Voluce, & inſidiis circumventos. Ac fuere qui dicerent, *manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum ſcelus inultum relinquendum.*

*pitched their camp, all on a ſudden the Moor comes in a great fright to Sulla, and tells him*, that he was informed by his ſcouts that Jugurtha was not far off, and at the ſame time begs and entreats him to fly away privately with him in the night. *To which he very boldly replied*, that he feared not the Numidian, who had been ſo often beat by him; nor did he diſtruſt the courage of his men: but however, tho' he was ſure to periſh, yet would he ſtand his ground, rather than ſave his life, which might otherwiſe, perhaps in a ſhort time, have an end put to it by a diſtemper, by a ſcandalous flight, and betraying thoſe he conducted. *But however, being adviſed by the ſame Volux to continue his march in the night, he approved of that advice, and immediately gives order for the ſoldiers to go to ſupper in the camp; and, when they had done, to make a good many fires up and down the ſame, and march ſilently off in the firſt watch. All being heartily tired with that night's march, Sulla pitched his camp again about ſun-riſe, when the Mooriſh horſe bring word*, that Jugurtha had ſat down about two miles on the road before them. *Upon hearing of which, our men were in a mighty conſternation, as believing themſelves betrayed, and led into a ſnare by Volux. And ſome cried out for vengeance upon him, and that ſuch a piece of villainy might not go unpuniſhed.*

CXV.

CXV. At Sulla, quamquam eadem exiſtumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet; ſuos hortatur, *uti fortem animum gererent; ſæpe ante paucis ſtrenuis adverſus multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto ſibi in prælio minus peperciſſent, tanto tutiores fore; nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maxumo metu nudum & cæcum corpus ad hoſtis vertere.* Deinde Volucem, quoniam hoſtilia faceret, *Jovem maxumum obteſtatus, ut ſceleris, atque perfidiæ Bocchi teſtis adeſſet*, caſtris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, *ne ea crederet; nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthæ; cui videlicet ſpeculanti iter ſuum cognitum eſſet. Cæterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet; & ſpes, opeſque ejus ex patre ſuo penderent; credere illum nihil auſurum palam, cum ipſe filius teſtis adeſſet; quare optumum factum videri, per media ejus caſtra palam tranſire; ſeſe, vel præmiſſis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, ſolum cum Sulla iturum.* Ea res, uti in tali negotio, probata; ac ſtatim profecti, quia de improviſo acceſſerint, du-

CXV. *But Sulla, tho' he was of the ſame opinion, yet would not ſuffer the Moor to be hurt; but encourages his men* to have a good heart; that a few brave fellows had oftentimes prevailed againſt multitudes; the leſs they ſpared themſelves in battle, the more ſecure they would be; nor ought any one, that had armed his hands, to ſeek aſſiſtance from his unarmed feet, or in the midſt of danger turn his naked back, that had no eyes in it, upon his enemy. *Then*, invoking Jupiter as a witneſs of the villainy and treachery of Bocchus, *he orders* Volux, as acting like a baſe enemy, to be gone out of the camp. *He, with tears in his eyes, begs of him*, not to harbour any ſuch ſuſpicion of him; that nothing of all this was owing to any baſeneſs of his, but to the ſubtlety of Jugurtha only, who had by his ſpies diſcovered their march. However, ſince he had no great numbers with him, and all his hopes and ſtrength depended upon his father, he did not believe he would dare to make any open attempt upon them whilſt the ſon was by to be a witneſs of his behaviour. For which reaſon, he thought their beſt way would be to take their rout fairly through the middle of his camp; that he would either ſend his Moors before, or leave them there, and go ſingle along with Sulla. *This propoſal was, as the caſe ſtood, approved of, and immediately they went; and Jugurtha, being ſurprized with their coming, and unreſolved what to do, they paſſed ſafe, and arrived*

bio,

bio, atque hæſitante Jugurtha, incolumes tranſeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum eſt.

CXVI. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aſpar nomine; multum, & familiariter agebat, præmiſſus ab Jugurtha, poſtquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, & ſubdole ſpeculatum Bocchi conſilia; præterea Dabar, Maſſugradæ filius, ex gente Maſſiniſſæ, cæterum materno genere impar; nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus, acceptuſque, quem Bocchus fidum eſſe Romanis, multis ante tempeſtatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, *paratum ſeſe facere, quæ populus Rom. vellet; colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipſe deligeret; conſulta ſeſe omnia cum illo integra habere; neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimeſceret*; accitum eſſe, quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab inſidiis ejus aliter caveri nequiviſſe. Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis Punica fide, quam ob ea, quæ prædicabat, ſimul Romanos, & Numida ſpe pacis attinuiſſe; multumque cum animo ſuo volvere ſolitum,

*in a few days at the place they deſigned for.*

CXVI. *There was at that time in Bocchus's court a Numidian named Aſpar, who pretended to great freedom and familiarity with him, having been diſpatched thither by Jugurtha, as ſoon as he heard that Sulla had been ſent for, as his envoy, and ſlily to diſcover Bocchus's intentions; and, beſides him, one Dabar, the ſon of Maſſagrada, of the family of Maſiniſſa, but of mean deſcent by the mother, for her father was the ſon of a concubine, but in great favour with the Moor for his excellent parts, whom Bocchus having found upon ſeveral occaſions before to be entirely in the Roman intereſt, he immediately diſpatches him to Sulla, to tell him,* that he was ready to comply with the pleaſure of the Roman people in every thing; that he might fix time and place for the interview betwixt them; that he was at full liberty to conclude matters as they two, upon conſideration, ſhould find reaſonable, without being under any obligations to the contrary from Jugurtha, whoſe agent he need not fear. *He had been ſent for only that their common affair might be tranſacted with more freedom; for otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible to have guarded effectually againſt the ſly arts of Jugurtha. But I find that Bocchus herein acted double, rather than with the deſign he pretended, in order to keep both*

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Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet; libidinem advorſum nos, metum pro nobis ſuaſiſſe.

CXVII. Igitur Sulla reſpondit, *pauca ſe coram Aſpare locuturum, cætera occulte aut nullo, aut quam pauciſſumis præſentibus*; ſimul edocet, quæ reſponderentur. Poſtquam, ſicuti voluerant, congreſſi; dicit *ſe miſſum a conſule veniſſe, quæſitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agitaturus foret.* Tunc rex, uti præceptum fuerat, poſt diem decimum redire jubet; ac nihil etiam nunc decreviſſe, ſed illo die reſponſurum. Deinde ambo in ſua caſtra digreſſi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis proceſſit; Sulla a Boccho occulte accerſitur; ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur. Præterea Dabar internuncius, ſanctus vir, ex ſententia jurat ambobus; ac ſtatim ſic rex incipit.

CXVIII. *Numquam ego ratus ſum fore, uti rex maxumus in hac terra, & omnium, quos novi, opulentiſſimus, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercule Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus aliis ultro ego-*

*the Romans and Jugurtha at a bay with the hopes of peace*; *and that he was a long time in debate with himſelf, whether ſhe ſhould deliver up Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sulla to him, his inclination pleading againſt, and his fear for, us.*

CXVII. *Sulla therefore replied,* that he ſhould ſay but little in the preſence of Aſpar; the reſt in private, with no one, or but very few by. *At the ſame time he inſtructs him what anſwer he ſhould return him. After they met according to appointment, Sulla tells him,* that he had been ſent by the conſul to know of him whether he was for peace or war. *Then the King, according to his inſtruction, bids him come to him again after ten days time, ſeeing he was as yet undetermined in that matter, but would then give him an anſwer. Whereupon they both departed into their ſeveral camps. But when the night was now far ſpent, Sulla is privately ſent for by Bocchus, and truſty interpreters alone allowed to be preſent, except the meſſenger Dabar, a man of honour, who was ſworn to ſecrecy. Whereupon the king opened the conference as follows.*

CXVIII. I never imagined that I, the greateſt prince in this part of the world, and the moſt opulent that I know, ſhould ever be indebted for a favour to a private perſon, or any one under the rank of a king. And indeed, Sulla, before I was acquainted with you, I have granted favours to

*met*

*met opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod cæteri dolere ſolent, ego lætor. Fuerit mihi pretium, eguiſſe aliquando tuæ amicitiæ; qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet; arma, viros, pecuniam, poſtremo quicquid animo libet, ſume, utere; & quoad vives, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; ſemper apud me integra erit; denique nihil me ſciente fruſtra voles. Nam, ut ego exiſtumo, regem armis, quam munificentia, vinci, flagitioſum minus. Cæterum de republ. veſtra, cujus curator huc miſſus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Rom. neque feci, neque factum umquam volui; finis meos advorſum armatos armis tutus ſum. Id omitto; quando vobis ita placet, gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me & Micipſam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare ſinam. Præterea, ſi quid meque vobis hiſque dignum petiveris, haud repulſus abibis.*

CXIX. Ad id Sulla pro ſe breviter, & modice; de pace, & de com-

many, upon their application for them, and to others without; but never ſtood in need of any myſelf. I am glad the caſe is altered with me in that reſpect; a thing which others are apt to be ſorry for. It was worth my while to ſtand in need of your friendſhip, to which I prefer nothing in the world beſides, which you may try. Take uſe my arms, men, money, in ſhort, whatſoever you have a mind to; and, after all, whilſt you live, never think I have made you a ſufficient requital for your favours. My obligation to you will ever be the ſame. Finally, you ſhall never deſire any thing in my power to do for you, if I am but ſenſible of it, but you ſhall have it. For I thing it leſs diſhonourable for a prince to be outdone in arms than generoſity. But, as to your republic, whoſe affairs you have been ſent hither to take care of, I ſhall let you know my mind in a few words. I never made war upon the Roman people, or ever ſo much as deſired it. I only defended my dominions with arms againſt an armed force. But I ſay no more of that. Since you are ſo minded, carry on a war with Jugurtha, as you pleaſe. I ſhall never ſtir beyond the river Mulucha, which was the boundary betwixt me and Micipſa; nor will I ever ſuffer Jugurtha to come within it. And, if you have any thing further to demand, worthy of me and yourſelves, you ſhall not be denied.

CXIX. *To this Sulla replied briefly and modeſtly ſo far as it related to himſelf; but ſpoke large-*

muni-

munibus rebus multis diſſeruit. Denique regi patefecit; *quod polliceatur, ſenatum & populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuiſſent, non in gratia habituros; faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quam ſua, retuliſſe videretur; id adeo in promptu eſſe; quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet; quem ſi Romanis tradidiſſet, fore, ut illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram.* Rex primum negitare; *affinitatem, cognationem, præterea fœdus interveniſſe; ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide uſus popularium animos averteret; queis & Jugurtha carus, & Romani inviſi eſſent.* Denique ſæpius fatigatus, lenitur; & *ex voluntate Sullæ omnia ſe facturum* promittit. Cæterum ad ſimulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defeſſus bello, avidiſſumus, quæ utilia viſa, conſtituunt. Ita, compoſito dolo, digrediuntur.

CXX. At rex poſtero die Aſparem, Jugurthæ legatum, appellat; dicitque ſibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, *poſſe con-*

*ly as to the public concerns. Finally, he gave the king to underſtand,* That, as the ſenate and people of Rome had been ſucceſsful in the war, they would never thank him for what he promiſed. He muſt do ſomething that might appear to be more for their intereſt than his own; which was an eaſy matter for him to do, ſince he had Jugurtha in his power, whom, if he would deliver up to the Romans, they would then be under a very great obligation to him; that then the Roman friendſhip and alliance, with the third part of Numidia, which he demanded, would come into him without more ado. *The king at firſt, refuſed over and over to comply with this propoſal, alledging* their relation both by blood and marriage, with the treaty of alliance that had been betwixt them. He was moreover afraid, *he ſaid,* leſt by acting ſo treacherous a part he ſhould loſe the affections of his ſubjects, who all loved Jugurtha, and hated the Romans. *But repeated inſtances to the ſame purpoſe ſoftened him at laſt; and he accordingly promiſed* to do all that Sulla deſired of him. *But to carry on the pretence of concluding a peace that ſhould include Jugurtha, which he, being weary of the war, was very deſirous of, they ſettle matters as they judged proper for that purpoſe. And having thus laid their plot, they part.*

CXX. *The following day, the king ſpeaks to Aſpar, and tells him that he was informed from Sulla by Dabar,* that the war might be ended upon terms; *he*

*ditioni-*

*ditionibus bellum componi*; quamobrem regis ſui ſententiam exquireret. Ille lætus in caſtra Jugurthæ venit. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus: properato itinere, poſt diem octavum redit ad Bocchum; & ei nunciat, *Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; ſed Mario parum fidere; ſæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam, fruſtra fuiſſe. Cæterum Bocchus, ſi ambobus conſultam, & ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quaſi de pace, in colloquium veniretur; ibique ſibi Sullam traderet; cum talem virum in poteſtate haberet, tum fore, uti juſſu* S. P. Q. R. *fœdus fieret; neque hominem nobilem non ſua ignavia, ſed ob rempubl. in hoſtium poteſtate relictum iri.*

*might learn his maſter's ſentiments about it. He went, full of joy, to Jugurtha's camp, and taking his inſtructions returns with all expedition eight days after to Bocchus, and tells him*, that Jugurtha was ready to comply with any thing, but durſt not truſt Marius; that the peace he had concluded with ſeveral Roman commanders before him they had never ſtood to. Bocchus, if he would provide effectually for them both, and make a peace to laſt, ſhould procure a joint conference under that pretence, and deliver up Sulla to him. If he had but ſuch a man as him in his hands, a treaty of peace would then be concluded by order of the ſenate and people of Rome. For a man of his quality would never be left in the enemy's hands, into which he came, not by his own want of courage, but in ſerving his country.

CXXI. Hæc Maurus ſecum ipſe diu volvens, tandem promiſit. Cæterum dolo, an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, ut vehementes, ſic mobiles, ſæpe ipſæ ſibi advorſæ. Poſtea tempore & loco conſtituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthæ legatum appellare; benigne habere; idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti, ac ſpei bonæ pleni eſſe. Sed

CXXI. *The Moor muſing upon this propoſal a good while, at laſt promiſed he would; but whether with a fraudulent deſign, or ſincerely, I do not find. But princes humours, as they are moſtly very violent, ſo are they fickle, and often inconſiſtent. After this, time and place being appointed for the conference, Bocchus one while talked with Sulla, another while with Jugurtha's agent; treated them kindly, and promiſed both the ſame thing. They were both alike well pleaſed, and full of hopes. But in the night before the day appointed for the conference, the Moor gathering his friends about him,*

nocte ea, quæ proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis, ac ſtatim immutata voluntate, remotis cæteris dicitur ſecum ipſe multa agitaviſſe, vultu, colore, motu corporis pariter atq; animo varius; quæ ſcilicet, tacente ipſo, occulta oris patefeciſſe. Tamen poſtremo Sullam arceſſi jubet; & ex ejus ſententia Numidæ inſidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, & ei nunciatum eſt, Jugurtham haud procul abeſſe; cum paucis amicis, & Quæſtore noſtro, quaſi obvius honoris cauſſa, procedit in tumulum facillumum viſu inſidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum pleriſque neceſſariis ſuis inermis, ut dictum erat, accedit; ac ſtatim ſigno dato, undique ſimul ex inſidiis invaditur. Cæteri obtruncati; Jugurtha Sullæ vinctus traditur, & ab eo ad Marium deductus eſt.

*and immediately changing his mind, after he had ordered all but his friends to withdraw, he did, they tell you, ruminate upon the matter a long time, with ſtrange alterations in his countenance, and a variety of ſentiments; which, tho' he was ſilent, was diſcoverable in his looks. However, at laſt, he orders Sulla to be ſent for, and, by his advice, lays a plot for the Numidian. Then, as ſoon as it was day, and he was informed that Jugurtha was not far off, he, with a few friends, and our Quæſtor, goes, under pretence of doing him honour, to meet him, as far as a hill that was in view of thoſe who were ordered to trepan him. Thither, as had been appointed, the Numidian came unarmed with many friends. And immediately, upon a ſignal given, he was ſurrounded on all hands, and ſeized. The reſt were killed; but Jugurtha was delivered in chains to Sulla, and by him conducted to Marius.*

CXXII. Per idem tempus advorſum Gallos ab ducibus noſtris Q. Cæpione, & M. Manlio male pugnatum. Quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique, & inde uſque ad noſtram memoriam Romani ſic habuere; alia omnia virtuti ſuæ prona eſſe; cum Gallis pro ſalute, non pro glo-

CXXII. *About the ſame time, our generals, Q. Cæpio and M. Manluis, were very unfortunate againſt the Gauls; which occaſioned a general conſternation thoughout Italy. And the Romans then were, and from that time to this, have been always of opinion, that other wars had no difficulty in them; but that they fought with the Gauls for their very being, not glory. But after the*

ria certare. Sed poſtquam bellum in Numidia confectum; & Jugurtham victum adduci Romam nunciatum eſt; Marius conſul abſens factus eſt; & ei decreta provincia Gallia; iſque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria conſul triumphavit. Ex ea tempeſtate ſpes, atque opes civitatis in illo ſitæ.

*war in Numidia was at an end, and news was carried to Rome that Jugurtha was coming in chains, Marius, tho' abſent, was made conſul again; and the province of Gaul aſſigned him; and he triumphed, when conſul, upon the firſt of January with great glory. From that time forward, the hopes and ſecurity of the Roman ſtate reſted upon him.*

ORA-

# ORATIONES DUÆ

AD

*C. CÆSAREM,*

SALLUSTIO Adſcriptæ.

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## ORATIO I.

AD

*C. CÆSAREM,*

DE

REPUBLICA ORDINANDA.

I. POPULUS R. antea obtinebat, regna atque imperia, fortunam dono dare, item alia, quæ per mortalis avide cupiuntur; quia & apud indignos ſæpe erant, quaſi Pe lubidinem data; neque cuiquam incorrupta permanſerant. Sed res docuit in verum eſſe, quod in carminibus Appius ait, *Fabrum eſſe ſuæ quemque fortunæ*; atque in te maxume, qui tantum alios prætergreſſus es, uti prius defeſſi ſint homines laudando facta tua, quam tu laude digna faciundo. Cæterum uti fabricata, ſic virtute parta, quam magna induſtria haberi decet; ne incuria deformentur, aut corruant infirmata. Nemo enim alteri imperium volens concedit; & quamvis bonus atque clemens ſit, qui plus poteſt; tamen, quia malo eſſe licet, formidatur. Id evenit, quia plerique rerum potentes perverſe conſulunt; & eo ſe munitiores putant, quo illi, quibus imperitant, nequiores fuere.

 II. At

II. At contra id eniti decet; cum ipſe bonus, atque ſtrenuus ſis, uti quam optumis imperites. Nam peſſumus quiſque aſperrime rectorem patitur. Sed tibi hoc gravius eſt, quam ante te omnibus, armis parta componere. Bellum aliorum pace mollius geſſiſti; ad hoc victores prædam petunt, victi cives ſunt. Inter has difficultates evadendum eſt tibi; atque in poſterum firmanda reſpub. non armis modo, neque adverſum hoſtes, ſed, quod multo majus, multoque aſperius eſt, bonis pacis artibns. Ergo omnes magna mediocrique ſapientia res huc vocat; quæ quiſque optuma poteſt, ut dicat. Ac mihi ſic videtur; qualicumque modo tu victoriam compoſueris, ita alia omnia futura. Sed jam, quo melius, faciliuſque conſtituas, paucis, quæ me animus monet, accipe.

III. Bellum tibi fuit, imperator, cum homine claro, magnis opibus, avido potentiæ, majore fortuna, quam ſapientia; quem ſecuti ſunt pauci, per ſuam injuriam tibi inimici, item quos affinitas, aut alia neceſſitudo traxit. Nam particeps dominationis neque fuit quiſquam; neque, ſi pati potuiſſet, orbis terrarum bello concuſſus foret. Cætera multitudo vulgi, more magis quam judicio, poſt alius alium, quaſi prudentiorem, ſecuti. Per idem tempus maledictis iniquiorum occupandæ reipubl. in ſpem adducti homines, quibus omnia probro ac luxuria polluta erant, concurrere in caſtra tua; & aperte quietis mortem, rapinas, poſtremo omnia, quæ corruptus animus jubebat, miniteri.

IV. Ex quis magna pars, ubi neque creditum condonare, neque te civibus, ſicuti hoſtibus, uti vident, defluxere; pauci reſtitere, quibus majus otium in caſtris, quam Romæ, futurum erat; tanta vis creditorum impendebat. Sed ob eaſdem cauſſas, immane dictu eſt, quanti, & quam multi mortales poſtea ad Pompejum diſceſſerint; eoque per omne tempus belli quaſi ſacro, atque inſpoliato fano debitores uſi. Igitur, quoniam tibi victori de bello, atque pace, agitandum eſt; hoc uti civiliter deponas, illa ut quam juſtiſſima, & diuturna ſit; de te ipſo primum, quia compoſiturus es, quod optumum factu eſt, exiſtima. Equidem ego cuncta imperia crudelia, magis acerba, quam diuturna, arbitror, neque quemquam a multis metuendum eſſe, quin ad eum ex multis formido recidat; eam vitam bellum æternum & anceps gerere; quoniam neque adverſus, neque ab tergo, aut lateribus tutus ſis, ſemper in periculo, aut metu agites.

V. Contra qui benignitate, & clementia, imperium temperavere, his læta & candida omnia viſa, etiam hoſtes, æquiores, quam aliis cives. An qui me his dictis corruptorem victoriæ

tuæ

tuæ, nimiſque in victos bona voluntate prædicent? Scilicet quod ea, quæ exteris nationibus, natura hoſtibus, noſque majoreſque noſtri ſæpe tribuere, ea civibus danda arbitror; neq; barbaro ritu cæde cædem, & ſanguine ſanguinem expiandum. An illa, quæ paullo ante hoc bellum in Cn. Pompejum victoriamque Sullanam increpabantur, oblivio abſtulit; interfecit Domitium, Carbonem, Brutum, alios item non armatos, neque in prælio belli jure, ſed poſt ea ſupplices per ſummum ſcelus interfectos; plebem Romanam in villa publica pecoris modo conſciſſam.

VI. Heu quam illa occulta civium funera, & repentinæ cædes in parentum, aut liberorum ſinum, fuga mulierum, & puerorum, vaſtatio domorum! ante partam a te victoriam omnia ſæva atque crudelia erant. Ad quæ te illi iidem hortantur; & ſcilicet id certatum eſſe utrius veſtrum arbitrio, injuriæ uti fierent; neque receptam, ſed captam a te remp. & ea cauſſa exercitus ſtipendiis confectis, optimos, & veterrimos omnium adverſum fratres, parenteſque, alii liberos armis contendere; ut ex alienis malis deterrimi mortales ventri atque profundæ libidini ſumtus quærerent; atque eſſent opprobria victoriæ; quorum flagitiis commacularetur bonorum laus.

VII. Neque enim te præterire puto, quali quiſque eorum more aut modeſtia, etium tum dubia victoria, ſeſe geſſerit; quoque modo in belli adminiſtratione ſcorta, aut convivia, exercuerint nonnulli; quorum ætas ne per otium quidem tales voluptates ſine dedecore attigerit. De bello ſatis dictum. De pace firmanda quoniam tuque, & omnis tui agitatis; primum id, quæſo, conſidera, quale id ſit, de quo conſultas; ita, bonis, maliſque dimotis, patenti via ad verum perges. Ego ſic exiſtumo, quoniam orta omnia intereunt, qua tempeſtate urbi Romanæ fatum excidii adventarit; cives cum civibus manus conſerturos; ita defeſſos, & exſangues regi, aut nationi prædæ futuros. Aliter non orbis terrarum, neque cunctæ gentes conglobatæ, movere, aut contundere queunt hoc imperium. Firmanda igitur ſunt concordiæ bona & diſcordiæ mala expellenda.

VIII. Id ita eveniet, ſi ſumtuum, & rapinarum licentiam demſeris; non ad vetera inſtituta revocans, quæ jam pridem corruptis moribus, ludibrio ſunt; ſed ſi ſuam cuique rem familiarem finem ſumtuum ſtatueris; quoniam his inceſſit mos, ut homines adoleſcentuli, ſua atque aliena conſumere, nihil lubidini, atque aliis rogantibus denegare, pulcherrumum putent; eam virtutem, & magnitudinem animi, pudorem, atque modeſtiam pro ſocordia æſtiment. Ergo animus ferox,

prava via ingreſſus, ubi conſueta non ſuppetunt, fertur accenſus in ſocios modo, modo in cives; movet compoſita, & res novas veteribus acquirit. Quare tollendus fenerator in poſterum, uti ſuas quiſque res curemus; ea vera, atque ſimplex via eſt magiſtratum populo, non creditori, gerere; & magnitudinem animi in addendo, non demendo reipubl. oſtendere.

IX. Atque ego ſcio, quam aſpera hæc res in principio futura ſit, præſertim iis, qui ſe in victoria licentius liberiuſque, quam artius, futuros credebant; quorum ſi ſaluti potius, quam lubidini, conſules; illoſque noſque & ſocios in pace firma conſtitues. Si eadem ſtudia, arteſque juventuti erunt; næ iſta egregia tua fama ſimul cum urbe Roma brevi concidet. Poſtremo ſapientes pacis cauſſa bellum gerunt, laborem ſpe otii ſuſtentant. Niſi illam firmam efficis, vinci, an viciſſe, quid retulit? Quare capeſſe per deos rempubl. & omnia aſpera, uti ſoles, pervade. Namque aut tu mederi potes; aut omittenda eſt cura omnibus. Neque quiſquam te ad crudeles pœnas, aut acerba judicia invocat, quibus civitas vaſtatur magis quam corrigitur, ſed uti pravas artes, malaſque lubidines, ab juventute prohibeas.

X. Ea vera clementia erit conſuluiſſe, ne immerito cives patria expellerentur; retinuiſſe ab ſtultitia, & falſis voluptatibus; pacem concordiamque ſtabiliviſſe; non ſi flagitiis obſecutus, delicta perpeſſus, præſens gaudium cum mox futuro malo conceſſeris. Ac mihi animus, quibus rebus alii timent, maxume fretus eſt, negotii magnitudine; & quia tibi terræ, & maria ſimul omnia componenda ſunt, (quippe res parvas tantum ingenium attingere nequit) magnæ curæ magna merces eſt. Igitur provideas oportet, uti plebes, largitionibus, & publico frumento, corrupta, habeat negotia ſua, quibus ab malo publico detineatur; juventus probitati, & induſtriæ, non ſumtibus, neque divitiis, ſtudeat. Id ita eveniet, ſi pecuniæ, quæ maxuma omnium pernicies eſt, uſum, atque decus demſeris.

XI. Nam ſæpe ego cum animo meo reputans, quibus quiſque rebus clariſſumi viri magnitudinem inveniſſent; quæ res populos nationeſve magnis auctoribus auxiſſent; ac deinde quibus cauſſis ampliſſuma regna & imperia corruiſſent; eadem ſemper bona atque mala reperiebam, omniſque victores divitias contempſiſſe, & victos cupiviſſe. Neque aliter quiſquam extollere ſeſe, & divina mortalis attingere poteſt, niſi, omiſſis pecuniæ & corporis gaudiis, animo indulgens, non aſſentando, neque concupita præbendo, perverſam gratiam gratificans; ſed in labore, patientia, boniſque præceptis, &

factis

factis fortibus exercitando. Nam domum aut villam exſtruere, eamque ſignis, aulæis, aliiſque operibus exornare, & omnia potius, quam ſemet, viſendum efficere; id eſt, non divitias decori habere, ſed ipſum illis flagitio eſſe.

XII. Porro ii, quibus bis die ventrem onerare, nullam noctem ſine ſcorto quieſcere mos eſt; ubi animum, quem dominari decebat, ſervitio oppreſſere; nequicquam eo poſtea hebeti, atque claudo pro exercito uti volunt. Nam imprudentia pleraque, & ſe præcipitant. Verum hæc & omnia mala pariter cum honore pecuniæ deſinent, ſi neque magiſtratus, neque alia vulgo cupienda, venalia erunt. Ad hoc providendum eſt, quonam modo Italia atque provinciæ tutiores ſint; id quod factu haud obſcurum eſt. Nam iidem omnia vaſtant, ſuas deſerendo domos, & per injuriam alienas occupando. Item ne, ut adhuc, militia injuſta aut inæqualis ſit; cum alii triginta, pars nullum ſtipendium faciet; & frumentum id, quod antea præmium ignaviæ fuit, per municipia, & colonis illis dare conveniet, cum ſtipendiis emeritis domos reverterint. Quæ reipublicæ neceſſaria, tibique glorioſa ratus ſum, quam pauciſſumis abſolvi.

XIII. Non pejus videtur, pauca nunc de facto meo diſſerere. Plerique mortales ad judicandum ſatis ingenii habent, aut ſimulant; veruntamem ad reprehendenda aliena facta, aut dicta ardet omnibus animus; vix ſatis apertum os, aut lingua promta videtur, quæ meditata pectore evolvat; quibus me ſubjectum haud pœnitet, magis reticuiſſe pigeret. Nam ſive hac, ſeu meliore alia via perges; a me quidem pro virile parte dictum, & adjutum fuerit. Reliquum eſt, optare, uti, quæ tibi placuerint, ea dii immortales approbent, beneque evenire ſinant.

# ORATIO II.

AD

## *C. CÆSAREM,*

DE

## REPUBLICA ORDINANDA.

I. SCIO ego, quam difficile, atque aſperum factu ſit, conſilium dare regi, aut imperatori; poſtremo cuiquam mortali, cujus opes in excelſo ſunt; quippe cum & illis conſultorum copiæ adſint; neque de futuro quiſquam ſatis callidus, ſatiſque prudens ſit. Quinetiam ſæpe prava magis, quam bona conſilia proſpere eveniunt; quia pleraſque res fortuna ex lubidine ſua agitat. Sed mihi ſtudium fuit adoleſcentulo rempublicam capeſere; atque in ea cognoſcenda multam, magnamque curam habui non ita, uti magiſtratum modo caperem, quem multi malis artibus adepti erant; ſed etiam uti rempubl. domi, militiæ, quantumque armis, viris, opulentia poſſet, cognitum haberem. Itaque mihi multa cum animo agitanti conſilium fuit, famam, modeſtiamque meam poſt tuam dignitatem habere, & cujus rei lubet periculum facere, dum quid tibi ex eo gloriæ accederet. Idque non temere, neque ex fortuna tua, decrevi; ſed quia in te, præter cæteras, artem unam egregie mirabilem comperi, ſemper tibi majorem in adverſis, quam in ſecundis rebus animum eſſe. Sed per cæteros mortales illa res clarior eſt, quod prius defeſſi ſint homines laudando atque admirando munificentiam tuam, quam tu faciendo, quæ gloria digna eſſent.

II. Equidem mihi decretum eſt, nihil tam ex alto reperiri poſſe, quod non cogitanti tibi in promtu ſit. Neque ego, quæ viſa ſunt, de rep. tibi ſcripſi, quia mihi conſilium, atque ingenium meum amplius æquo probaretur; ſed inter labores militiæ, interque prælia, victorias, imperium, ſtatui admonendum te de negotiis urbanis. Namque tibi ſi id modo in

pectore

pectore conſilii eſt, uti te ab inimicorum impetu vindices, quoque modo contra adverſum Conſulem beneficia populi retineas; indigna virtute tua cogites. Sin in te ille animus eſt, qui jam a principio nobilitatis factionem diſturbavit; plebem Rom. ex gravi ſervitute in libertatem reſtituit; in prætura inimicorum arma inermis disjecit; domi militiæque tanta, & tam præclara facinora fecit, uti ne inimici quidem queri quidquam audeant, niſi de magnitudine tua; quin accipe tu ea quæ dicam de ſumma republ. quæ profecto aut vera invenies, aut certe haud procul a vero.

III. Sed quoniam Cn. Pompejus aut animi pravitate, aut quia nihil maluit, quam quod tibi obeſſet, ita lapſus eſt, ut hoſtibus tela in manus jaceret; quibus ille rebus rempubl. conturbavit, eiſdem tibi reſtituenda eſt. Primum omnium, ſummam poteſtatem moderandi, de vectigalibus, ſumtibus, judiciis, ſenatoribus paucis tradidit; plebem Romanam, cujus ante ſumma poteſtas erat, ne æquis quidem legibus in ſervitute reliquit, Judicia tametſi, ſicut antea, tribus ordinibus tradita ſunt; tamen iidem illi factioſi regunt, dant, adimunt quæ lubet, innocentes circumveniunt; ſuos ad honorem extollunt.

IV. Non facinus, non probrum, aut flagitium obſtat, quo minus magiſtratus capiant; quod commodum eſt, trahunt, rapiunt; poſtremo, tanquam urbe capta, lubidine, ac licentia ſua, pro legibus utuntur. Ac me quidem mediocris dolor angeret, ſi virtute partam victoriam more ſuo per ſervitium exercerent. Sed homines inertiſſumi, quorum omnis vis, virtuſque in lingua ſita eſt, forte, atque alterius ſocordia dominationem oblatam inſolentes agitant. Nam quæ ſeditio, ac diſſenſio civilis tot tamque illuſtres familias ab ſtirpe evertit? aut quorum unquam victoria animus tam præceps, tamque immoderatus fuit? L. Sulla, cui omnia in victoria lege belli licuerunt, tametſi ſupplicio hoſtium partes ſuas muniri intelligebat; tamen paucis interfectis cæteros beneficio, quam metu, retinere maluit. At hercule nunc cum Catone, L. Domitio, cæteriſque ejuſdem factionis, quadraginta ſenatores, multi præterea cum ſpe bona adoleſcentes, ſicuti hoſtiæ, mactati ſunt; cum interea importuniſſuma genera hominum tot miſerorum civium ſanguine ſatiari nequiere; non orbi liberi, non parentes exacta ætate, non gemitus virorum, luctus mulierum immanem eorum animum inflexit; quin, acerbius in dies male faciendo, ac dicundo, dignitate alios, alios civitate everſum ierent.

V. Nam,

V. Nam, quid ego de te dicam, cujus contumelium homines ignaviſſumi vita ſua commutare volunt, ſi liceat? neque illis tantæ voluptati eſt (tametſi inſperantibus accidit) dominatio, quanto mœrori tua dignitas; quin optatius habent, ex tua calamitate periculum libertatis facere, quam per te populi R. imperium maxumum ex magno fieri. Quo magis tibi etiam atque etiam animo proſpiciendum eſt, quonam modo rem ſtabilias communiaſque. Mihi quidem quæ mens ſuppetit, eloqui non dubitabo. Cæterum tui erit ingenii probare, quæ vera, atque utilia factu putes. In duas partes ego civitatem diviſam arbitror, ſicut a majoribus accepi, in patres, & plebem. Antea in patribus ſumma auctoritas erat, vis multo maxuma in plebe.

VI. Itaque ſæpius in civitate ſeceſſio fuit; ſemperque nobilitatis opes diminutæ ſunt, & jus populi amplificatum. Sed plebes eo libere agitabat; quia nullius potentia ſuper leges erat; neque divitiis, aut ſuperbia ſed bona fama, factiſque fortibus nobilis ignobilem anteibat; humillimus quiſque in armis, aut militia, nullius honeſtæ rei agens, ſatis ſibi, ſatiſque patriæ erat. Sed, ubi eos paullatim expulſos agris, inertia, atque inopia incertas domos habere ſubegit; cœpere alienas opes petere, libertatem ſuam cum republica venalem habere. Ita paullatim populus, qui dominus cunctis gentibus imperitabat, dilapſus eſt; & pro communi imperio, privatim ſibi quiſque ſervitutem peperit. Hæc igitur multitudo primum malis moribus imbuta, deinde in artes, vitaſque varias diſpalata, nullo modo inter ſe congruens, parum mihi quidem idonea videtur ad capeſſendam rempubl.

VII. Cæterum, additis novis civibus, magna me ſpes tenet, fore, ut omnes expergiſcantur ad libertatem; quippe cum illis libertatis retinendæ, tum his ſervitutis amittendæ cura orietur, Hos ego cenſeo, permixtos cum veteribus novos in coloniis conſtituas; ita & res militaris opulentior erit, & plebes bonis negotiis impedita malum publicum facere deſinet. Sed non inſcius, neque imprudens ſum, cum ea res agetur; quæ ſævitia, quæque tempeſtates hominum nobilium futuræ ſint, cum indignabuntur omnia funditus miſceri, antiquis civibus hanc ſervitutem imponi, regnum denique ex libera civitate futurum, ubi unius munere multitudo ingens in civitatem pervenerit. Equidem ego ſic apud animum meum ſtatuo, malum facinus in ſe admittere, qui incommodo reipubl. gratiam ſibi conciliet. Ubi bonum publicum etiam privatim uſui eſt; id vero dubitare aggredi, ſocordiæ, atque ignaviæ duco. M. Livio Druſo ſemper conſilium fuit, in tribunatu

bunatu ſumma ope niti pro nobilitate; neque ullam rem in principio agere intendit, niſi illi auctores fierent. Sed homines factioſi, quibus dolus, atque militia, fide cariora erant, ubi intellexerunt, per unum hominum maxumum beneficium multis mortalibus dari; videlicet & ſibi quiſque conſcius, malo atque infido animo eſſe, de M. Livio Druſo juxta, ac ſe, exiſtimaverunt. Itaque metu, ne per tantum gratiam ſolus rerum potiretur, contra eum nixi, ſua ipſius conſilia diſturbaverunt.

VIII. Quo tibi, imperator, majore cura fideque amici, & multa præſidia paranda ſunt. Hoſtem adverſum opprimere, ſtrenuo homini haud difficile eſt; occulta pericula neque facere, neque vitare, bonis in promptu eſt. Igitur, ubi eos in civitatem adduxeris; quoniam quidem revocata plebes erit, in ea re maxume animum exercitato, uti colantur boni mores; concordia inter veteres, & novos coaleſcat. Sed multo maxumum bonum patriæ, civibus, tibi, liberis, poſtremo humanæ genti, pepereris, ſi ſtudium pecuniæ aut ſuſtuleris, aut, quoad res feret, minueris. Aliter neque privata res, neque publica, neque domi, neque militiæ, regi poteſt. Nam ubi cupido divitiarum invaſit; neque diſciplina, neque artes bonæ, neque ingenium ullum ſatis pollet; quin animus magis, aut minus mature, poſtremo tamen ſuccumbit. Sæpe jam audivi, qui reges, quæ civitates, & nationes, per opulentiam magna imperia amiſerint, quæ per virtutem inopes ceperant, id adeo haud mirandum eſt. Nam ubi bonus deteriorem divitiis magis clarum, magiſque acceptum videt; primo æſtuat multaque in pectore volvit; ſed ubi gloria honorem magis in dies, virtutem opulentia vincit; animus ad voluptatem a vero deficit.

IX. Quippe gloria induſtria aliter; ubi eam demſeris, ipſa per ſe virtus amara, atque aſpera eſt. Poſtremo, ubi divitiæ claræ habentur, ibi omnia bona vilia ſunt, fides, probitas, pudor, pudicitia. Nam ad virtutem una, & ardua via eſt; ad pecuniam, qua cuique lubet, nititur; & malis, & bonis rebus ea creatur. Ergo in primis auctoritatem pecuniæ demito; neque, de capite, neque de honore ex copiis quiſquam magis, aut minus judicaverit; ſi neque prætor, neque conſul, ex opulentia, verum ex dignitate creetur. Sed de magiſtratu facile populi judicium fit. Judices a paucis probari, regnum eſt; ex pecunia legi, inhoneſtum. Quare omnes primæ claſſis judicare placet, ſed numero plures, quam judicant. Neque Rhodios, neque alias civitates umquam ſuorum judiciorum pænituit; ubi promiſcue dives, & pauper,

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ut cuique ſors tulit, de maxumis rebus juxta, ac de minumis diſceptat. Sed de magiſtratibus creandis haud mihi quidem abſurde placet lex, quam C. Gracchus in tribunatu promulgaverat; ut ex confuſis quinque claſſibus ſorte centuriæ vocarentur. Ita coæquati dignitate, pecunia, virtute anteire alius alium properabit. Hæc ego magna remedia contra divitias ſtatuo. Nam perinde omnes res laudantur, atque appetuntur, ut earum rerum uſus eſt; malitia præmiis exercetur.

X. Ubi ea demſeris, nemo omnium gratuito malus eſt. Cæterum avaritia bellua fera, immanis, intoleranda eſt; quo intendit, oppida, agros, fana, atque domos, vaſtat; divina cum humanis permiſcet; neque exercitus, neque mœnia obſtant, quo minus vi ſua penetret; fama, pudicitia, liberis, patria, atque parentibus cunctos mortales ſpoliat. Verum, ſi pecuniæ decus ademeris; magna illa vis avaritiæ facile bonis moribus vincetur. Atque hæc ita ſeſe habere, tametſi omnes æqui, atque iniqui memorent; tamen tibi cum factione nobilitatis haud mediocriter certandum eſt; cujus ſi ſolum caveris, alia omnia in proclivi erunt. Nam hi, ſi virtute ſatis valerent, magis æmuli bonorum, quam invidi, eſſent. Quia deſidia, & inertia, & ſtupor eos, atque torpedo, invaſit; ſtrepunt, obtrectant, alienam famam bonam ſuum dedecus exiſtumant. Sed, quid ego plura, quaſi de ignotis, memorem? M. Bibuli fortitudo, atque animi vis, in conſulatum erupit; hebes lingua, magis malus, quam callidus ingenio. Quid ille audeat, cui conſulatus maxumum imperium maxumo dedecori fuit? An L. Domitii magna vis eſt, cujus nullum membrum a flagitio aut facinore vacat? lingua vana, manus cruentæ, pedes fugaces; quæ honeſte nominari nequeant, inhoneſtiſſuma.

XI. Unius tamen M. Catonis ingenium verſutum, loquax, callidum haud contemno. Parantur hæc diſciplina Græcorum. Sed virtus, vigilantia, labos, apud Græcos nulla ſunt. Quippe, qui domi libertatem ſuam per inertiam amiſerunt; cenſeſne eorum præceptis, imperium haberi poſſe? Reliqui de factione ſunt inertiſſimi nobiles; in quibus, ſicut in ſtatua, præter nomen, nihil eſt additamenti. L. Poſthumus, & M. Favonius, mihi videntur quaſi magnæ navis ſupervacua onera eſſe, ubi ſalvi pervenere, uſui ſunt; ſi quid adverſi coortum eſt, de illis potiſſumum jactura fit, quia pretii minumi ſunt. Nunc quoniam, ſicut mihi videor, de plebe renovanda, corrigendaque diſſerui; de ſenatu, quæ tibi agenda videntur, dicam. Poſtquam mihi ætas ingeniumque adolevit, haud ferme armis, atque equis corpus exercui, ſed ani-

animum in litteris agitavi; quod natura firmius erat, id in laboribus habui. Atque ego in ea vita multa legendo, atque audiendo ita comperi, omnia regna, civitates, nationes uſque eo proſperum imperium habuiſſe, dum apud eos vera conſilia valuerunt; ubicumque gratia, timor, voluptas, ea corrupere; poſt paullo imminutæ opes, deinde ademtum imperium, poſtremo ſervitus impoſita eſt.

XII. Equidem ego ſic apud animum meum ſtatuo; cuicumque in ſua civitate amplior, illuſtriorque locus, quam aliis eſt, ei magnam curam eſſe reipubl. Nam cæteris, ſalva urbe, tantummodo libertas tuta eſt; qui per virtutem ſibi divitias, decus honorem pepererunt; ubi paullum inclinata reſpubl. agitari cœpit, multipliciter animus curis, atque laboribus fatigatur; aut gloriam aut libertatem, aut rem familiarem defenſat; omnibus locis adeſt, feſtinat; quanto in ſecundis rebus florentior fuit, tanto in adverſis aſperius magiſque anxie agitat. Igitur ubi plebes ſenatui, ſicuti corpus animo, obedit, ejuſque conſulta exſequitur, patres conſilio valere decet, populo ſupervacanea eſt calliditas, Itaque majores noſtri cum bellis aſperrimis premerentur, equis, viris, pecunia amiſſa, nunquam defeſſi ſunt armati de imperio certare. Non inopia, ærarii, non vis hoſtium, non adverſa res ingentem eorum animum ſubegit; quin, quæ virtute ceperant, ſimul cum anima retinerent. Atque ea magis fortibus conſiliis, quam bonis præliis, patrata ſunt. Quippe apud illos una reſpubl. erat, ei omnes conſulebant; factio contra hoſtes parabatur; corpus atque ingenium, patriæ, non ſuæ quiſque potentiæ, exercitabat.

XII. At hoc tempore contra homines nobilis, quorum animos ſocordia, atque ignavia, invaſit, ignari laboris, hoſtium, militiæ, domi factione inſtructi, per ſuperbiam cunctis gentibus moderantur. Itaque patres, quorum conſilio antea dubia reſpubl. ſtabiliebatur, oppreſſi, ex aliena libidine huc atque illuc fluctuantes agitantur; interdum alia, deinde alia decernunt; ut eorum, qui dominantur, ſimultas ac arrogantia fert, ita bonum malumque publicum exiſtumant, Quod ſi aut libertas æqua omnium, aut ſententia obſcurior eſſet; majoribus opibus reſpubl. & minus potens nobilitas eſſet. Sed quoniam coæquari gratiam omnium difficile eſt; quippe cum illis majorum virtus partam reliquerit gloriam, dignitatem, clientelas; cætera multitudo pleraque inſcia; ſit ſententia eorum a metu libera. Ita occulto ſibi quiſque alterius potentia carior erit. Libertas juxta bonis, & malis, ſtrenuis, atque ignavis optabilis eſt. Verum eam plerique metu deſerunt, ſtultiſſimi mortales; quod in certamine dubium eſt, quorſum accidat,

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id per inertiam in ſe, quaſi victi, recipiunt. Igitur duabus rebus confirmari poſſe ſenatum puto; ſi numero auctus per tabellam ſententia feret.

XIV. Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat; in multitudine, & præſidii plus, & uſus amplior eſt. Nam fere, his tempeſtatibus, alii judiciis publicis, alii privatis ſuis atque amicorum negotiis implicati, haud ſane reipubl. conſiliis adfuerunt; neque eos magis occupatio, quam ſuperba imperia diſtinuere. Homines nobiles cum paucis ſenatoriis, quos additamenta factionis habent, quæcumque libuit probare, reprehendere, decernere, ea, uti libido tulit, fecere. Verum ubi, numero ſenatorum aucto, per tabellam ſententiæ dicentur; næ illi ſuperbiam ſuam dimittent, ubi iis obediendum erit, quibus antea crudeliſſume imperitabant. Forſitan, imperator, perlectis litteris deſideres, quem numerum ſenatorum fieri placeat; quoque modo is in multa, & varia officia diſtribuatur; & quoniam judicia primæ claſſis mittenda putem, quæ deſcriptio, qui numerus in quoque genere futurus ſit. Ea mihi omnia generatim deſcribere haud difficile factu fuit; ſed prius laborandum viſum eſt de ſumma conſilii, idque tibi probandum verum eſſe. Si hoc itinere uti decreveris, cætera in promptu erunt. Volo ego conſilium meum prudens, maximeque uſui eſſe. Nam ubicunque tibi res proſpere cedet, ibi mihi bona fama eveniet. Sed me illa magis cupido exercet, uti quocumque modo, & quamprimum reſpubl. a juvetur. Libertatem gloria cariorem habeo, atque ego te oro, hortorque, ne clariſſumus imperator, Gallica genta ſubacta, populi R. ſummum atque invictum imperium tabeſcere vetuſtate, ac per ſummam diſcordiam dilabi, patiaris. Profecto, ſi id accidat, neque tibi nox, neque dies curam animi ſedaverit, quin inſomniis exercitus, furibundus, atque amens alienata mente feraris. Namque mihi pro vero conſtat, omnium mortalium vitam divino numine inviſi; neque bonum, neque malum facinus cujuſquam pro nihilo haberi; ſed ex natura diverſa præmia bonos, maloſque ſequi. Interea forte ea tardius procedunt; ſuus cuique animus ex conſcientia ſpem præbet.

XV. Quod ſi tecum patria, atque parentes poſſent loqui, ſcilicet hæc tibi dicerent; O Cæſar, nos te genuimus fortiſſumi viri, in optuma urbe, decus, præſidiumque nobis, hoſtibus terrorem. Quæ multis laboribus, & periculis ceperamus, ea tibi naſcenti cum anima ſimul tradidimus, patriam maximam in terris; domum, familiamque in patria clariſſumam, præterea bonas artes, honeſtas divitias; poſtremo omnia ho-

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neſtamenta pacis, & præmia belli. Pro his ampliſſumis beneficiis non flagitium a te, neque malum facinus, petimus; ſed uti libertatem everſam reſtituas. Qua re patrata, profecto per gentes omnes fama virtutis tuæ volitabit. Namque hac tempeſtate, tametſi domi, militiæque præclara facinora egiſti; tamen gloria tua cum multis viris fortibus æqualis eſt; ſi vero urbem ampliſſumo nomine, & maxumo imperio, prope jam ab occaſu reſtitueris; quis te clarior, quis major in terris fuerit? Quippe ſi morbo jam, aut fato huic imperio ſecus accidat; cui dubium eſt, quin per orbem terrarum vaſtitas, bella, cædes oriantur? Quod ſi tibi vana lubido fuerit, patriæ, parentibus gratificandi; poſtero tempore republ. reſtituta, ſuper omnis mortalis gloria agnita, tuaque unius mors vita clarior erit. Nam vivos interdum fortuna, ſæpe invidia, fatigat; ubi anima naturæ ceſſit, demtis obtrectationibus ipſa ſe virtus magis magiſque extollit. Quæ mihi utilia factu viſa ſunt, quæque tibi uſui fore credidi quam, pauciſſumis potui, perſcripſi. Cæterum deos immortales obteſtor, uti, quocumque modo ages, ea res tibi, reique publicæ proſpere eveniat.

*FINIS.*